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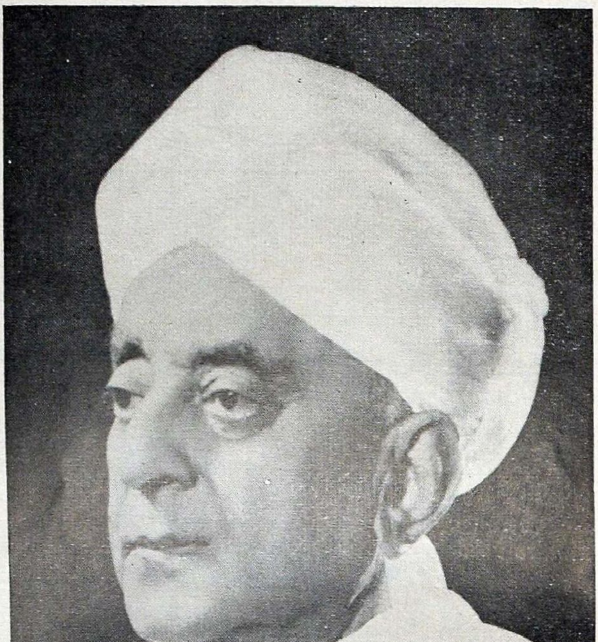

The Late C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

## THE LATE C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

In the demise of Sachivottama Dr. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar suddenly in London in September 1966 where he had gone to work on " The History of My Times ", the K. S. R. I. has lost not only its valued Vice-President but also a true votary and patron of Sanskrit and of Indological Research.

Dr. C. P. was a scholar in Sanskrit, English and French and an eminent Educationist. The Founder and first Vice-Chancellor of the Travancore University, his services were in demand as Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University and of the Annamalai University. He delivered no less than twenty Convocation addresses beginning from 1924 and they are all remarkable for their forethought, depth and sweep. In 1939, when he completed sixty years of age, he donated and gave away a very large part of his no inconsiderable wealth to charities and institutions. Special reference must, however, be made to his donations to several Universities and to an endowment of Rs. 25,000 for Indological Research. He was the Founder, guiding spirit and patron of numerous Educational and Cultural Institutions and Foundations. He was an Institution in himself. Of the many, mention may be made of the Madras Sanskrit College, of which he was the Co-Founder in 1907 along with his illustrious master the late Sri V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, and he continued to be associated with that good Institution for nearly 60 years. So was he one of the Founders of the Y. M. I. A. in 1914 with which he was connected till his very death, as its President. He was also the Founder-President of the Sanskrit Education Society which was started in 1958 to do post-graduate work in Vyakarana, Nyaya and other Sastras and designed to serve, in due course, as a nucleus for a Central Sanskrit University in the South.

The mention of his name conveyed charm, culture, fortune, success, intellectual brilliance and, above all, courage and versatility, all rolled into one. He was the idol of the youth especially in those great days of the Home Rule Movement. All the good fairies had bestowed on him the choicest gifts and he was the " Lakshmīvān" of the classics. A great son of India, exceedingly well informed on any and every subject, lively and sparkling in conversation, a superb lawyer, a finished orator, a virile and combative politician who exhibited rare courage and steadfastness in his loyality and views, an able and efficient administrator, an engaging unofficial ambassador in foreign countries, he represented the best in Indian tradition and culture. His life and career as a student, lawyer, Member of Council, Dewan of a State and representative of India is an inspiring object lesson

in what ability, intelligence and hard work combined with friendliness, goodwill and joy of living, can do for a man. He was a man of rare nobility of mind who gave and forgave generously.

His speeches and writings cover a wide field, law, literature, philosophy, music, fine arts, politics, planning and industry. He was not merely a writer and speaker of great distinction, but also one who had the merit of having put his ideas into action. We owe not a little of the development of the Irrigation and Power projects and industries in the Madras State and Travancore to his foresight and courage. He was the very first to throw temples open to Harijans, to introduce midday meal scheme, to have State Transport and Concrete High ways etc.

He was a great devotee of H. H. Sri Chandrasekhara Bharati Swamigal of the Sringeri Mutt and an ardent admirer of the dynamic, imaginative and practical work of H. H. Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswati Swamigal of the Kanchi Kamakoti Mutt. His own ideal was Swami Vivekananda. He was a great supporter of the Ramakrishna Mission and took a leading part in the establishment of the Vivekananda College at Madras. While still engrossed in the activities of life, he was at the same time detached from them. In his intimate moments, he professed that modern conditions required more a vanaprastha than a Sanyasi, away from the currents of daily life. He lived such a life and no wonder God vouchsafed to him, 'Anāyāsena maraṇam', 'vinā dainyena jīvanam' and 'Acañcalā bhakti'.

The K. S. R. I. mourns, along with numberless friends, admirers and followers the loss of a great and illustrious son of India and an active and ardent promoter of Sanskrit learning and Indology.

T. V. VISWAṆATHA AIYAR

The Late K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer.

# THE LATE K. V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER

*6th April, 1885—24th December, 1965*

To those connected with the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute and the *Journal of Oriental Research,* the passing away of Sri K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer on 24th December, 1965, was an irreparable loss. Sri Krishnaswami Iyer was closely associated, both in the University of Madras and outside in all the non-official activities in the field of Sanskrit and allied studies, with Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal. He was from the very beginning on the Governing Body of the *Journal of Oriental Research* and the Samskrita Academy and was of great help when the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute was founded in the name of the late Professor. Up to the time of his demise, Sri Krishnaswami Iyer was also one of the Trustees of the K. S. R. Institute. Sri Krishnaswami Iyer made an outstanding contribution in the development of research in the University of Madras, particularly in two fields, Oriental Studies and Library Science. He was actively associated with the publication of the *Tamil Lexicon* of the Madras University. He founded the Library movement and the Madras Library Association of which he was President continuously for several years. He was also a pioneer in the Tamil movement; the Tamil Lovers' Conference which he organised was a poineering effort at that time. He also planned to bring out a Bibliography of Tamil works in print.

In the field of education, besides his work in the University of Madras, as Secretary of the P. S. High School, Mylapore, he was the chief architect of its progressive development.

Sri Krishnaswami Iyer was also the President of the Music Academy, Madras, and in this capacity in which he continued till his death, with his dynamic energy, organising capacity and thoroughness and high standards put the Academy and its work on a sound and permanent basis.

Sri Krishnaswami Iyer was an eminent Advocate of the Madras High Court. He was a distinguished educationist and a deep lover of Sanskrit of which he was a keen student himself.

The work and achievements of Sri K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer in the public field lay in the pre-Independence days when Governmental assistance was lacking for all such activities. In the last part of his life he was, unfortunately, confined to his house by his illness for several years. If his services had been fully available after the attainment of freedom, his contributions would have been far greater But it was one of the distinguishing characteristics of Sri Krishnaswami Iyer that he discovered the right type of people to assist him and carry on after him the work of the several institutions with which he was connected.

# INDIAN INFLUENCE ON EARLY SASSANIAN AND ARABIC ASTRONOMY*

DR. DAVID PINGREE, *Oriental Institute, Chicago*

Ten years ago, in 1955, while studying some Greek codices at the Vatican Library, I came across a marginal note in a 14th century Byzantine manuscript (Vat. year 1057) quoting the opinion of the Indian sage Parzzomchor on the ninth of the zodiacal signs. Later I was to come to realise that the name Porzomchor was probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Puruśaṅkara, and that the marginal note contained his doctrine concerning the *navāṁśas*. But at the time I was ignorant of any trace of Indian influence on Byzantine science (a subject on which no one had previously worked) and decided that the matter needed investigation; in medieval Greek astrological manuscripts of which I have read several hundreds I have indeed found much that originated on this sub-continent and, in turn, in Sanskrit texts on *Jyotiṣa* there is a great deal of Greek material. In fact, it soon became clear to me that the study of the transmission of astronomy and astrology from one nation to another is not only a fascinating subject in itself, but also one of our surest tools for investigating the historical intercourse between the various cultures of the world.

In this great tradition of transmission fall all the civilisations of Europe and Asia-the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Greeco-Roman, the Persian, the Indian, the Chinese, the Islamic, and the modern Western. To-night I wish to say a few words only about a small and obscure but important link in the chain of this tradition, one by which Indian astronomy and astrology-which was founded upon the methods of the Babylonians and Greeks, but which was developed into something unique by the genius of the Indian people-influenced the scholars of Sassanian Iran and of the early 'Abbasid Caliphate and, through them, Byzantium and Western Europe.

But first I must try to clarify, without becoming too technical, the distinguishing characteristics of Babylonian, Greek and Indian planetary theory. To the Babylonians the

* A paper read at the K. S. R. Institute on 6-7-1965.

important events in a planet's course were its first and last visibilities, its stationary points, and (in the case of the superior planets) its opposition. All these phenomena depend upon the planet's elongation from the Sun. The Babylonians, from the time of Ammisaduga in the 18th cent. B. C. had used the occurrence of these phenomena for the purpose of divination; and we find the predictions based on them detailed in the great omen series Enūma Anu Enlil (of c. 1000 B. C.) as well as in the Reports of the diviners of the Assyrian kings Assurbanipal and Esarhaddan in the 7th cent. B. C. In India their influence is found in the Gargasaṁhitā and the other Jyotiṣa Saṁhitās; this method probably reached India during the Achemenid occupation of the Indus Valley.

But it was not until the 3rd century B.C. that the Babylonians devised a means of calculating the time and position of these phenomena mathematically. They accomplished this feat by applying to the problem of the periodicity of planetary motion the methods of zig-zag and step linear functions which they had previously applied to other periodic phenomena. Thus they assume no geometrical model but by straight forward arithmetic arrive at the solutions to the problems of planetary motion.

Traces of this Babylonian linear astronomy are yet to be found in Greek papyri and astrological works as well as on cuneiform tablets. They are also found in India, in the Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja, written at Ujjain in 270 A.D. but based on a translation from the Greek made in 150 A.D. under Rudradāman I and in the Vāsiṣṭhasiddhānta and Pauliśasiddhānta as summarized in Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhāntikā.

Greek astronomy, on the other hand, seeks a geometrical solution to the problem of planetary motion based on a kinematic model in which the position of the planet is defined as the sum of several circular motions. In the Almagest of Ptolemy, written in about 150 A.D., the irregularity of planetary motion is analyzed into two inequalities; that which results from the elliptic shape of the planet's orb is accounted for by an eccentric with equant, and that which results from the earth's actual rotation about the Sun by an epicycle. For Mercury there is a further refinement of a double perigee, and for the Moon the second inequality is accounted for.

In Indian astronomy, as expounded in the Siddhāntas, the model is geometric as is the Greek, but it is not kinematic. Both inequalities are taken care of by epicycles, which pull the planet from its mean position on a concentric deterrent. Further, there is no equant, on double perigee of Mercury, and no second inequality of the Moon. Moreover, the actual computation is simplified mathematically through the introduction of a table of sines for the Ptolemaic and Hipperehan chords, and of various methods of approximation. And one striking feature of Indian planetary theory is its use of vast periods of time yugas, mahāyugas, and kalpas-all connected with a mean conjunction of the planets at the Indian Aries 0° on 17°18 Feb-3101 for the computation of the planet's mean motions. Thus, though the Greek origin of Indian epicycle theory cannot be doubted, the peculiar model employed and the other distinctive characteristics will serve as sure guides in our disentanglement of the mixed systems of Iran and Islam-these and, of course, the parameters quoted themselves.

Of the astronomical literature of Sassanian Iran written in Pahlavi not a word is left. But we can learn quite a bit of its nature from later sources. The ninth century Pahlavi Denkart, for instance, informs us authoritatively that Ardashīr I and Shāpūr I in the 3rd cent. had Indian and Greek works on astronomy-including the Almagest-translated into Pahlavi and that they were revised under Khusroo Anūshirwān in the 6th cent. And a Persian scholar Sahl ibu Nawbakht, who worked in the library of Hārūn-al-Rashīd, is quoted by Ibu at-Nadīm as writing that Ptolemy, Dorotheus, Vattius Vakus, and an Indian text ascribed to Framasp, all on Jyotiṣa, were translated under Ardashīr and Shāpūr, and that work on astronomy was carried on under Anūshirwān.

But the first original astronomical work in Pahlavi to which we have a reference dates from about 450. The great astronomer of Cairo in the late 10th century Ibu Yūnis says that at that time (c.450) the solar apogee was placed by the Persians in Gemini 17; 55°. In fact, this is precisely the longitude that it had at that date according to the Paitāmahasiddhānta of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa. So it seems that if there were a Persian Zīj al-Shāh or Royal Astronomical Table written under Bahram Ghor in about 450,

it was influenced by the Kalpa system of the Paitāmahasiddhānta; what it may have owed to the 3rd cent. Pahlavi translation of Ptolemy we are not in a position to say.

Al-Bīrūnī in his Qānūn al-Maṣūdī reports that Khusrō Anūshirwān, in the year 556, found that the earlier version of the Zīj al-Shāh was inadequate, and called his astronomers together to revise it. This indicates that there was indeed a version of the Zīj al-Shāh older than 556.

Now I must introduce two interesting but perhaps obscure characters to our story. Māshā' allāh was a Persian Jew from Baṣra, who flourished between 750 and 815; he had access to many Pahlavi and Byzantine texts which are now lost. Al-Hāshimī was an astronomer who wrote a very valuable book, which we shall frequently refer to, on *The Inner Causes of the Zījes* in about 875; it is preserved in a unique manuscript in Oxford. Al-Hāshimī quotes Māshā' allāh as stating that Khusro Anūshirwān asked his astronomers to compare the Almagest, and the Arkand; they preferred the Arkand, and wrote a new version of Zīj al-Shāh based on it.

The Almagest, we have already seen, was translated into Pahlavi in the 3rd cent., but here we have evidence that a book called the Arkand existed in the same language in the 6th cent. The Arkand is often cited by Al-Bīrūnī, and some scholars have claimed the name as a corruption of the Khaṇḍa-khādyaka of Brahmagupta; and, in fact, the Arkand shares some parameters-for example those of the maximum equations of the planets with the Khaṇḍakhādyaka. But unfortunately Brahmagupta did not write the Khaṇḍakhādyaka till over a century after 556, in fact in 665. So the identification is impossible. But the same parameters occur in the Midnight or ārdharātrika system of Āryabhaṭa, who, of course, flourished half a century before Khusro's gathering of the astronomers. So I would suggest that by Arkand is meant a book based on the parameters of Āryabhaṭa's Midnight system, and that the word Arkand itself is a Pahlavi perversion of the Sanskrit ahargaṇa.

Ibn Hibintā, an astrologer who wrote for the Buwayhids in Baghdad in about 950, summarizes an astrological history of the work written by Māshā' allāh in about 810. He includes 16 horoscopes in this summary. By analysing the

numerical data in these horoscopes, I have been able to prove that Māshā'allāh in computing them has used the Zīj al-Shāh of Khusro Anūshirwān, and that this work does indeed use the maximum equations of the ārdharātrika system of Āryabhaṭa. However, I was also able to show that the mean motions are *not* computed by an Indian method; for they do not assume a mean conjunction of all the planets at Aries 0° on 17/18 Feb. 3101. Therefore, the Zīj al-Shāh was evidently a composite work made up of elements from different sources.

The final version of the Pahlavi Zīj al-Shāh was made under Yazdijird III who reigned between 632 and 652. It was translated into Arabic by al-Tamīmī under Hārūn al-Rashīd, but only fragments are left now, especially in al-Hāshimī and al-Bīrūnī. From these it is clear that the work continued to use parameters from the Arkand; one puzzling feature in this regard is its use of 150 as the value of the radius, a value which was frequently used thereafter by Muslim and Byzantine astronomers, but whose origin remains obscure. In India we find it now only in the Khaṇḍakhādyaka, which was composed after Yazdijird III's death. I suppose it may have been utilised in the Sanskrit original of the Arkand, and from that lost work borrowed by Brahmagupta.

There are a large number of Indian techniques in the surviving fragments of this last version of the Zīj al-Shāh, with relation to the computations of true planetary longitudes, of the equation, of time, of lunar visibility, of eclipses both solar and lunar, and of parallax. The work was particularly fond of using what it calls a Kardaja- a word derived from Sanskrit Kramajyā. This is an entry in a table for intervals of argument of 3.45° and its multiples, and can be traced back to the first sine table quoted by Varāhamihira from the Pauliśasiddhānta. Thus the intervals between entries in the tables of equations in the Zīj al-Shāh were 3;45° or multiples of that number-a practice we can compare with the tables in the Grahacāranibandha of the 7th cent. Haridatta. These Kardajas again were strongly influential on Islamic astronomy, especially in Spain, whence they passed on to Europe in the 12th century.

A final trace of the influence of the midnight System-Arkand astronomy of the Zīj al-Shāh is to be found in a series of horoscopes of the vernal

equinoxes of the first regnal years of the Sassanian kings preserved in a work of a 10th cent. astrologer from Shīrāz, al-Sijzī. An analysis of these horoscopes shows that they were computed by the methods of the Ārdharātrika system of Āryabhaṭa. The computation was probably done in the late 8th century.

But Śassanian Iran felt Indian influence not only in astronomy, but in astrology as well. Dorotheus of Sidon in the 1st cent. A.D. wrote a poem on astronomy in five books of Homeric hexameters. This work is now lost in the original Greek, though its influence can be traced in the works of Firmicus Maternus, Maximus, Hephaestio of Thebes, Rhetorius at Egypt, and ps.-Palchus. But in the 3rd cent., as I have mentioned above, it was translated into Pahlavi; and in about 800 the Pahlavi version was turned into Arabic by the Persian scholar Umar Ibn al-Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī. From this Arabic translation we learn that a Persian redactor edited the text in about 400; and his editing included the addition of some Indian material, especially relating to the navāṁśas. This is one of the few sure cases I know of where there is indisputable evidence for Sassanian knowledge of Indian genethlialogy; but I am sure that much of the Indian material cited so extensively by al-Qaṣrānī and al-Saymārī in the early 9th cent. has reached them through Sassanian intermediaries.

We have seen that the Arabs in the last 8th cent. were familiar with some Indian astronomy from the versions of the Zīj al-Shāh written under Khusro Anūshirwān and Yazdijird III. But they also had direct contact with India. An early 10th century astronomer, Ibn al-Adamī, quoted by Ibn abī Uṣayb'a, states that an unknown Indian came to the court of al-Manṣūr at Baghdad and, with the help of Fazārī and Yaqūb ibn Ṭāriq, translated a work known as the Sindhind. The several fragments of their works that we have do indeed betray a knowledge of Indian methods; but our best source for a knowledge of the Sindhind is the Zīj of al-Khwārizmī, who wrote in about 830. As known to us now, it consists of an early 12th cent. Latin translation by Adelard of Bath of a late 10th cent. revision of the original by the Toledan al-Majrīṭī; but still, despite the changes and additions, it is clear that the Sanskrit original was the Brahmasphuṭa-

siddhānta of Brahmagupta. We have hopes of learning more of this matter from a commentary on al-Khwārizmī's original written in about 875 and preserved in the Taimuryya Library at Cairo.

In the works of the 9th century, we also find frequent mention in passing of Avjabhar or Āryabhaṭa, but no details as to his system. So it remains doubtful as to whether it was actually translated into Arabic, or was simply known by name. But we have seen that the two later versions of the Zīj al-Shāh (based on the Arkand and probably Ptolemy) and the Sindhind (based on the Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta) were the first works on planetary astronomy known to Islam. Under al-Ma'mūm the Almagest was translated directly from Greek, and the Indian predominance began to fade; it was finally eliminated by al-Battānī's great Ptolemaic Zīj of c. 910. For the Arabs, having adopted Aristotelianism and Neoplatonism, could not accept the non-kinematic models and the approximative methods of the Indians. Only in Spain did the tradition of the Sindhind linger till the 12th century-long enough so that the first serious Latin work on astronomy was a translation of a revision of a translation of the Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta.

Astrology, as usual, went along with astronomy. We have already seen in the case of Dorotheus that one path by which Indian astrological theories reached Islam was through Sassanian intermediaries; and there must have been much material of Sanskrit origin in the Pahlavi books used by the early 'Abbāsid astrologers. But here again direct contact was not lacking. A certain Kanaka, who is probably identical with the Kanaka who is mentioned as an authority on viyonijanma by Kalyāṇavarman in his Sārāvalī, travelled to Baghdad and became one of the court astrologers at Hārōn al-Rashīd. We still have fragments of his works in Ibn Hibintā and other sources. Moreover a number of other Indian astrologers are cited by name in Arabic works of the early ninth century; among them we can recognize in their strange Arab disguise a Ṛṣi, a Rājā, and a Jina. This Indian astrology, like the astronomy, was also handed on by the Arabs to Byzantium and the Latin West; in this connection, I should mention a eleventh century compilation by Eleuthenus Zebelenus in four books in Byzantine Greek which purports

to be a translation of one Achmat the Persian; on every page of the manuscript of this lengthy text one finds indisputable traces of Indian influence.

But I must close this short talk by saying a few words about the greatest astrologer of the ninth century, Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī. His works embody a conscious attempt to fuse the traditions of the Greeks, Indians and Persians into a consistent system. His Indian material he received through Sassanian sources, through men like Kanaka, and perhaps through personal contact; for we know from the Mudhākarāt of his pupil Shādhān that in 826 he cast a horoscope for the son of an Indian king. One of his most interesting experiments was the writing based on a combination of Indian, Sassanian, and Ptolemic elements. The mean motions of the planets he took from the Sindhind, which we have seen to be a version of the Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta; and he computes them with a yuga-system (using a yuga of 360000 years) based on the mean conjunction of all the planets on 17/18 Feb-3101. The planetary equations he has derived from the Sassanian Zīj al-Shāh which, as we have noted, got them from the Arkand. And his planetary model he took from Ptolemy. This whole strange conglomeration he claims, was devised in ancient Iran in the 4th millenium B.C. and he justifies this absurd notion by a fantastic history of science combining Iranian, Ḥarrānian, Manichaean, and Islamic legends. This is far too complicated to go into now; but I may say that his treatment of the myth of Hermes was profoundly influential on Renaissance Italy.

In brief outline I have tried to describe for you the complex manner in which Indian astronomy and astrology have been influential in Sassanian Iran and early Islam. But the investigation is only at its beginning; there are thousands of manuscripts in Sanskrit, in Arabic, in Persian, in Syriac, in Greek, and in Latin yet to be looked at, which might throw light on this all too obscure subject.

# SOME REMARKABLE NEW DISCOVERIES FROM MY COIN COLLECTIONS*

S. Ramayya, *Accountant-General (Retd.)*

May I at the outset express my sincere thanks to the members of the Governing Body of the K.S.R. Institute for having accorded me the rare privilege and honour of addressing them on their 20th Foundation Day celebrations?

During my 35 years' work in the Audit Department throughout India I used to visit all the Institutes doing Indological research both in my headquarters station and in the mofussil areas, whenever I toured there. The last of them was the Ganganath Jha Institute at Allahabad where I had the pleasure of delivering their annual address in 1957 when I was the Accountant-General of Uttar Pradesh on the topic of the 'Rise, Growth, and Decay of Civilisation in India' based on the ideas adumbrated by Arnold Toynbee, in his famous Study of History. I have however noted one common factor about most of these Institutions. They are all started with a good deal of enthusiasm and high hopes; but a few years later this enthusiasm dies out; and they become stagnant and anaemic; specially because of poor financial resources.

The K.S.R. Institute, however, appears to be one of those rare exceptions to the general rule. The name itself has a glamour about it. Who has not heard of that great and eminent scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya Professor Kuppuswami Sastri, a colossus in the world of Sanskrit learning? In our college days in the late twenties, our group of students, though belonging to a different branch, used to whisper in hushed and respectful voices about his eminence and scholarship whenever he passed us in the corridor. A remarkable thing about this great man was, apart from his vast learning, the fact he combined in himself traditional scholarship with the critical acumen of the West. A generation of scholars who passed out under his guidance became eminent throughout India and even outside in their respective fields.

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* Lecture delivered at the 20th Foundation Day Celebrations of the K. S. R. Institute on April 1, 1965.

It is not at all surprising that the late Professor's admirers, students and friends started this Institute in memory of the great scholar and savant in the year 1945.

The Institute itself, guided by some of the eminent citizens of Madras and adminstered by a set of very able Honorary Secretaries has been growing steadily. From its reports over these twenty years one can glimpse its variegated activities. A vast amount of research work of the highest order, visits of eminent foreign and Indian scholars, learned lectures under its auspices on a variety of subjects, its growing library with 7000 volumes and its Journal of Oriental Research carrying class articles, all speak for themselves.

My friend Sri K. Balasubramania Iyer, told me the other day that financially it is not as strong as it should be. To a large extent this seems to be true. It has yet to have its own building. It should have more income to finance research scholars and increase its activities. There is however one comfort. Compared to some Institutes which I know, it is much better off. The future also holds out great promise. Apart from larger Govt. of India subsidies, on which it can count, the growing industrialisation of Madras may one day induce some scholarly business tycoons to come forward to help it on a generous scale. Even in this technological and scientific age Institutes of this kind doing research work in humanities and culture have their own contributions to make. It deserves help and support, small or big, from every citizen of India.

* * * *

For to-day's talk I have taken the subject 'Some remarkable new discoveries in my coin collections.' Even from my college days historical studies and research interested me a good deal. I continued this as a hobby in my later official years and concentrated on some byways of Indian history, specially the military side and numismatics. During these years of service throughout the length and breadth of India I collected various types of antiquities especially old and rare coins. In 1955 I was able to unearth a good Kakatiya coin of Prataparudra Deva of Warangal from my collections and I published the same in an article in the Journal of the Numismatic Society India which set at rest

some controversies about the coins of this dynasty, of which only 3 or 4 have come to light till now.

After my retirement in 1963 I could devote more time to this work. Recently on going through my coin cabinet I came across a dozen or so remarkable rare coins. I have already sent three articles to *JNSI.* and am working on another half a dozen. To-day I shall deal only with 3 coins viz. two coins of Śātavāhana emperors, one, a copper coin of Sāta Meghasvāti of 2nd century B.C. and a silver portrait coin of another Śātavāhana Emperor Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarni of 2nd century A. D.; and one coin of Chālukyas, a gold one of Vikramāditya I, Chālukya Emperor of Badami of 7th century A. D.

Before I go to the coins proper, I would like to say a few words on the subject of numismatics or study of ancient coins. You are are all aware that Indian history has been built up mainly on three types of evidence. The first is the literary source; but it is a difficult authority and its interpretation is fraught with great dangers. The second and a more factual base is inscriptions, both in stone and copper plates. We have built most of our history from these records. These also have to be interpreted carefully and with a balanced judgement. The Chola Emperor Kulottunga I would claim in his inscription that he utterly defeated the Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI. On the other hand Vikramāditya VI would have put up an inscription in his capital Kalyani, claiming that he beat the Cholas soundly. It simply means there was a stalemate war. The third and a remarkable piece of historical evidence is old coins. In some respects they are probably the best. They have a few special characteristics:

(1) Inscribed ones with the name of a king, regnal year and era are clear evidences of that king having ruled in a particular period.

(2) Even if the years are not noted, the palaeography will indicate the age in which the King ruled.

(3) With coin as a cross check we can vet any literary evidence for the age as I shall indicate in the case of Puranic lists of the Śātavāhana Emperors. Another example is the famous Sangam literature which speaks of prosperous trade

with Yavanas and we get plenty of Roman coins in that period in South India.

(4) Coins being contemporary, factual and concrete, will not tell lies; on the contrary they will correct errors or falsehoods in the literary documents. I shall give one example. The general opinion in North India, based on Charan poetry; is to consider Prithivi Raj Chauhan, as a great hero and laud his exploits, his love affairs, his gallantry to the skins; and to bemoan how by bad luck he was killed in the battle of Tarain in 1192 A.D. by Mahmud Ghori. However one contemporary Mahomedan Historian Hasan Nizami in his account (E. and D. 11 page 213) wrote that Prithivi Raj was captured in the battle, and was allowed to rule Ajmere as a feudatory by the conqueror. Later he rebelled and Ghori overcame him and had him executed. In 1936 H. N. Wright published a book on "The coinage and metrology of the Sultans of Delhi". Therein he published a coin in which on one side with a bull there was an inscription 'Sri Muhammad Bin Sam' and on the other side a horseman with the legend "Sri Prithivi Raj Deva" both in Nagari Characters. Its simple interpretation is that Prithivi Raj became feudatory of Ghori and corroborated the statement in Nizami's history. Some years back there was a violent controversy in the north, in the Journal of the Nagari Pracharani Patrika of Varanasi and *JNSI.* as to how this was impossible and how Prithivi Raj could never have accepted subordination and so on.

(5) Coins throw light on the nature of the language prevailing in that age, Sanskrit or Prakrit, as I shall illustrate when I come to my coins. They indicate also the nature of the script used.

(6) More than all, coins give clear indications of the economic conditions of an age and a region. Fine Kushana or Gupta gold pieces testify to a prosperous foreign trade and import of gold; less pure gold as in the later Gupta days denotes a time of troubles and the Hun invasions. Under the Gresham's law of bad coins driving out the good coins we can, by arranging purity, make out correct geneological lists of kings. It gives us an insight into the technique, skill and metallurgy of the age. It also indicates financial and administrative conditions. The financial wizard of Chandragupta Maurya, the great Chanakya is supposed to have converted

8 crores of coins into 80 crores (Mahavamso). We find hundreds of silver coated punch marked Mauryan coins in the North and this may have been his work. He might have monetised large sectors of production and had probably a paid Bureaucracy in some areas as indicated in his Arthaśāstra, which was an advance on the system of feudatories common in that age. It is therefore obvious that a study of coins or numismatics is an essential for research into our ancient history and culture.

I shall now take up the coins of Vikramāditya I, a Badami Chālukyan Emperor of the 7th century A.D.

In the years 1957-60, I was Accountant-General of Andhra Pradesh and from 1960-63, Financial Adviser of the Nagarjunasagar Project, also at Hyderabad. I was in these years pursuing my old hobby of collecting coins in Hyderabad also. In 1959, four coins fairly dark, except one which was a little bright, came into my possession. They looked somewhat odd; but I could not identify them easily; nor my learned friends in the numismatic field could do so whenever I showed them the coins; of course they could spare only a few minutes. I did not attach much importance to these coins. Recently when I was going through my coin cabinet I had them cleaned a bit and examined them carefully. To my surprise I found them to be the coins of Vikramāditya I of Badami of the 7th century A.D.; one, a gold coin and the others, silver mixed with gold. I shall now proceed to describe the gold coin in detail.

*The Gold coin of Vikramāditya I, the Chālukyan Emperor of Badami*: I have only one coin of this type. On cleaning it a little bit it revealed itself to be a good gold coin. The first test revealed that the gold content may be between 75 and 80 per cent. I shall have it tested further. It is round in shape. The weight is 117.0 grains (7.500 grammes). Its size across is .76 inches. The base plate is of medium thickness. On both sides a number of devices and inscriptions and letters have been fixed by a die. There are also a number of small inscriptions on both sides fixed probably by another die.

Taking the obverse side symbols first, in the centre across the coin there is a big boar facing right, fairly protuberant and somewhat of a crude figure. The straight tail on the

left is thick and the face is indicated by a small knob, at the end split into two to show the snout. Four straight lines indicate the legs. In front of the boar on the edge of the coin (between II and III) there is a figure somewhat indistinct, probably a lamp. Above the boar, on the fringe of the coin (at XI) there is a device with a dot and two lines '⩛'; all well raised. This probably is the sun symbol; and to the right (at XII) there is a crescent like symbol '∪' with two dots at the end, probably representing the moon, clearly embossed.

Between the sun and the moon in the depression, a faint flower-like design is visible. In all on the obverse there are 4 symbols, three clear and bold and the other somewhat indistinct.

I shall now take up the inscriptions on the obverse. Below the tail of the boar, left of the hind leg, a small indistinct 'Śrī' can be traced. Right below the boar at the end of the coin (at VI) there is a big 'Vi'. To its left (at V) one can trace a 'kra' somewhat worn out. Next (above IV) big unmistakable 'Ma' can be read. Consequently we can read this clearly and distinctly as 'Sri Vikrama'. This is the first inscription. There seems to be a faint small inscription in small letters above the 'Vikra' running from right to left and one letter looking like a 'Vi' probably can be recognised. Next looks a feeble 'Kra'. Beyond that one cannot read. Above the back of the boar in the depressed portion of the coin there was apparently another inscription in small letters stretching across the coin (from I and ending at X) from right to left. The embossed portion is worn off but lines can be traced on the coin base. One letter looking like 'Krā' above the shoulders of the boar is however still clear. Probably it read 'Śrī Vikrama Mahārāja'. On the obverse side therefore there are three inscriptions; one big 'Śrī Vikrama' easily readable; a 'Śrī Vikrama' below the boar and a 'Śrī Vikrama Mahārāja' above the boar; the last two being difficult to read except one or two letters.

On the reverse of the coin in the centre extending from top to bottom is a bold standing figure. The head is now only a small hollow. Some small piece representing the head has apparently fallen off. The figure must have been facing left. His left arm is hanging loose with a slight curve and the right flexed arm is on the right hip. There is a beautiful winding figure of a serpent with a raised hood in front (at III). Right at the end of the coin there appears to be a small boar with

its face to the left and tail to the right, its legs touching the legs of the standing figure in an inverted position. There are in all three symbols, two distinct and one, the small boar, a little indistinct.

The inscriptions on this side also are remarkable. On the left edge of the coin there is a big 'Ma'; below it a 'Vi'; above a 'Kra'. Portions of the lines of the round in the 'Ma', the lines of 'Kra' and the arms of 'Vi' are eroded though the letters can be traced on the coin easily. The first incription therefore reads as 'Vikrama', 'Śrī' is not easily traceable. Above the head of the serpent (beginning from II) at the fringe of the coin one can read a 'Śrī Vikrama' in small beautiful letters. This is the second inscription in clear letters. There is a third faint inscription in slightly bigger letters along the edge of the coin in a sort of floral design running left to right (from I to XI) which can be read as 'Vikrama' with some effort, with some of the letters not being clear. In addition fine small letters are seen in the interspaces of the big letter 'Ma' which I shall try to read after cleaning the coin further. In all there are three clear inscriptions big and small on this side of the coin and probably another inscription in very small letters.

Let me now examine these facts and identify the coin. Since the boar is so prominent it is obvious it pertains to the Western Chalukyas who have the well known 'Varāha Lāñchana' or the boar symbol as their crest. The inscriptions on both sides clearly refer to a Vikrama Mahārāja. Consequently it must refer to one of the Vikramādityas of the Chālukyan Dynasty. At the outset we may easily rule out Vikramāditya VI of the Kalyani line. His date is 1076 A.D. to 1126 A.D. This line of Chālukyas used the pre-Nandinagari script of the 11th and 12th centuries. For example the 'Ma' used in the Kallasambi plates (*Vide* A. P. Government Archaeological Series No. 6) of Vikramāditya VI is almost the modern 'म', while in our coin it is the old '𑀫'. We have therefore to go back to the earlier Vikramāditya of Badami. Vikramāditya II ruled between 733 A.D. to 746 A.D. for a short period only and his reign was spent in wars. He seems to have few grants or none at all to his credit. He can also be ruled out. (I have none of his inscriptions before me).

Vikramāditya I had a longer reign and ruled between 655 to 680 A.D. He was a great conqueror; and avenged the defeat and the death of his father Pulakesi II and the sack of Badami by Narasimhavarma Pallava by a counter invasion and capture of Kānchi. After this feat he moved with his army down South as far as Trichnopoly on the Cauvery. Comparing the script on his Gadwal and Iparumkal Plates (*Vide* A. P. Government Archaeological Series No. 6) with that on the coin there seems to be no doubt that he issued this coin. The letter 'Ma' agrees remarkably though in the plates sometimes the other Ma '[illegible]' is also used here and there. The other letters 'Śrī', 'Vi', 'Kra' and 'Ra' agree also very well. The script used therefore is the 7th century one whatever name we give to it, post-Śātavāhana Brahmi or Telugu-Kannada as it is called in the South, or early Nagari. I therefore come to the conclusion that this gold coin was issued by Vikramāditya I of Badami, on even a cursory examination, because of the boar symbol and on unassailable paleographical grounds.

Let me now take up the other symbols on the coin and see where they lead us. Above the boar, on the obverse the sun and the moon symbols are there and they are the usual ones for the Chalukyas, (as well as other dynasties). They are also found on the seals of the copper-plate grants of this dynasty. As regards the figure in front of the boar it is a bit indistinct and looks like a lamp. Such a device is also found in the seals of their copper-plate grants. In the silver coins the lamp is more clear.

The standing figure is difficult to identify. The head seems to have fallen away; or it was not there at all. The silver coins have no head. Below (at VI) at the end of the coin there is the small and fairly defined figure of a boar. Then there is the snake with the hood. From all these indications there are only two possibilities. One is that the figure represents the king, its crudeness being traceable to the Indo-Sassanian influences of that period and later (*Vide* Chola coins) when crude representations of kingly figures started. The other alternative is that it is God Kārtikeya, the patron deity of the dynasty as stated in the copper-plate grants of these rulers. There are faint traces of a peacock and its feathers between the legs of the standing figure. I feel therefore it represents

god Kartikeya. These also confirm that this coin belongs to the Badami Chalukyas.

I shall now briefly discuss the metal, metrology and typology of the coin. It is a gold coin and the purity of gold can be taken safely between 75 per cent and 80 per cent. I shall have it tested later more accurately. The only other metal as seen from the colour is copper of about 20 to 25 per cent. So much copper shows a lesser purity. In these centuries, especially in the 7th century, north Indian Gold coins of later Guptas and Sasanka show equally low purity compared to those of the Imperial Guptas or Kushanas. This can be explained by the unfavourable economic conditions prevailing both in the north and the south in the 6th and 7th centuries. North had barely recovered from the horrors of the Hun invasions. In the South also the overseas trade dwindled in the 6th and 7th centuries, earlier due to the fall of the Roman Empire and in the 7th century due to Arab expansion and conquests in the Middle East and Africa. Gold inflow into India should have dried up.

As regards the metrology of the coin there is one problem which is very preplexing. Southern gold starting from very early days follow different weights as compared with the north. We have no gold issues of the Satavahanas. But from the 5th century A. D. the Kadambas of Banawasi and Gangas of South West Kuntala started a gold currency. A few gold coins illustrated by Eliot with boar symbols are also attributed to early Badami Chalukyas. Then after a long gap Kalyani Chalukyas and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi issued gold coins, with the contemporary Cholas. Later Vijayanagar issues came. But these coins follow entirely different weight standards. As is all known there are two such weight standards in the South; one of 50 to 60 grains sometimes even going to 70 grains, based on the weight of the 'Kalanju' seed. The early Kadamba and Chalukyan varieties, the 'Padma Ṭaṅka' types of the later Chalukyas, the 'Madai' of the Cholas and the Vijayanagar 'Varahas' followed this standard more or less. The second standard was the famous small 'fanams' of 5 or 6 grains; the weight of the 'Manjadi' seed with 10 fanams making up the bigger coin.

In this context where does this coin, with a present weight of 117 grains and originally probably of 120 grains

(3 grains having been probably lost in wear and tear) come in? This is the puzzle to be solved. It obviously follows the Kushano-early Gupta standard of 120 grains ultimately traceable to the Roman 'dīnāra' origin. They persist in the north right into the 7th century if not a little later. Some of the later Gupta coins go upto 150 grains or 80 Rattis of the Suvarṇa standard of Manu. Can we account for the intrusion of a 120 grain of a northern type in the south in this period, where previously and later only coins of 50 to 60 grain variety were the normal standard? At present I can offer only two explanations. The early Chalukyas appear to be a northern clan who probably migrated south in the 5th century and rose to imperial position in the 6th and 7th centuries. They apparently brought northern traditions even in coinage; copying the later Gupta coinage and introducing it in the south at least for sometime. Secondly Pulakesī, Kirtivarman and Mangalesa, were the early conquerors of this dynasty. They overthrew the Kadambas, Western Gangas and other minor dynasties in the Deccan and looted their treasuries. Later kings tried to penetrate the far south towards Pallava Kanchi. Pulakesi II's attempt though partially successful ended disastrously in 642 A. D., when his capital was sacked and burned by the Pallavas and he himself perished in the disaster. Within 10 years however his son Vikramāditya I recovered magnificently and led a successful expedition to the south up to the Cauvery when he probably brought back all the lost treasures and much more from the far South. To celebrate his grand success he must have decided to issue the northern type of gold coins, and silver also dedicated to Mahasena or Kartikeya, his patron deity who gave him victory. This type apparently did not persist long, being new to the southerners; and the rulers later must have reverted to the 50/60 grains variety.

Although this gold coin compared to the Kushano-Gupta coin may look a little crude in workmanship it shows some remarkable features. For one thing it is a double die struck coin on a thick plate. Some of the symbols like the snake show great refinement and a delicacy of touch and line though the boar and the God could have been better. The inscriptions, especially the smaller ones, are remarkable both for their numbers, variety and delicacy and fine die work. The later Chalukya coins even in the 11th century were half punch-

marked and compared to this coin were somewhat old fashioned; nor were the Cholas better. We have to wait for Vijayanagar and the Pandyas of the 13th century for a good die struck variety.

It will now be obvious that this is a unique coin and an extraordinary lucky discovery. It is probably one of its kind to come to light till now. Its solitary grandeur will also be appreciated when we realise that from the 6th to the 11th century we come across very few coins in the south and no gold coins at all. We have yet to find one real coin of any metal of the Rashtrakutas, the redoubtable warrior kings of the Deccan of the 9th and the 10th centuries.

I have given all the relevant facts of this coin, at present before me. Any further facts coming out after a little more cleaning it requires, I shall give later. I have also placed before the scholarly world my own conclusions on the present data. It is now for other scholars to read and interpret the data better, if possible.

*A third silver portrait coin of Vāsishthīputra Sātakarni.*

Satavahana silver coins are few and till now only four categories have been published. I list them below:—

(1) *Gautamiputra Satakarni*: These are overstruck coins on those of the Kshaharāta King, Nahapana by his conqueror Gautamiputra. A huge hoard of these coins were discovered at Jogalthembi. No portrait coin of Gautamiputra Satakarni has been found till now.

(2) *Vāśishthīputrā Pulmāvī*: A portrait coins of this King has been published in the J.N.S.I. XIV. (1) pages 1-3.

(3) *Vāśishthīputra Sātakarni*: Two portrait coins of this King has been published; the first one by Dr. Altekar in J.N.S.I. XI (1) (pages 59 to 63) and the second by Mr. Dinkar Rao in J.N.S.I. XXI (1) (pages 9-12). My coin is the third of this category. (Dr. K. Gopalachari in his book 'Early history of the Andhra Country' appears to have referred briefly to a coin of this type with a plate).

(4) *Srī Yajña Sātakarni*: 6 portrait coins have been published; 3 by Rapson (B.M.C. Catalogue); one by Bhandarkar (ASIR 1913—1914); one by Prof. S. L. Katre

(J.N.S.I. XII page 126) and one by Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji from Sopara of which there is a woodcut figure on p. 25 of Eliot's 'Coins of South India'; the 7th one which is attributed to this king has no portrait; it is described by Dr. Altekar in Vol. VIII (11) of J.N.S.I. (Pages 111to 113).

My coin was purchased in Hyderabad in 1959 and belongs to the third category detailed above. I Shall first describe it.

Metal : Silver

Size :. 65 inches.

Weight : 28 grains

*Obverse*: Bust of the king facing right; the frizzled and curly hair seems to be bound by a fillet or diadem with a crest jewel above the centre of the forehead; earrings with long pendants reaching shoulder.

A clear circular Brahmi legend starting at VIII and reading 'Siri Sātakanisa Rañ̄o Vāsithiputasa'; the 'Sa' ending at IV being a little faint and a little off the flan.

*Reverse*: An Ujjain symbol with a crescent at the top; to right six-arched hill, with crescent at the top; between the two crescents a small circular figure with rays probably standing for the sun; below a wavy line.

The inscriptions on the reverse on the two coins of this category previously published are difficult to read since they are either eroded or partly off the flan. The reading has given rise to considerable doubt. The inscription on my coin is very clear and anybody can read it with the naked eye. I shall give what I consider as the correct reading.

Beginning at XII till II there are 5 letters reading 'Sa ta ha ni sha'. Then come five letters which read 'Va hi t ti pu'. Starting at V there are three letters 'Ka ni sha'. Thereafter there are two letters 'Thi ru'. Lastly come 5 Aksharas from IX and reading 'Ha ta ka ni sa.' In all there are 20 letters and the whole legend reads 'Satakanisha, Vahittipu, Kanisha, Thiru, Hatakanisa'. I am afraid there is no 'Ara' as deduced by Dr. Altekar in this inscription (J.N.S.I. XI (1) page 59). The reading of Mr. Dinkar Rao

'Arihanasha Vāladandadha' and his explanation of this title appear far-fetched and fanciful. (J.N.S.I. Vol. XXI (1) Pages 10-11)

I shall offer a few comments on this Brahmi legend and the title 'Thiru'.

As stated by Dr. Altekar some of the characters in the Brahmi script on the reverse are different from the normal Brahmi used on the obverse.

The third letter from XII 'Ha' has its loop on the left 'J'. The loop of 'Sha' (or was it pronounced as 'Sa'?) is turned to the right 't'. Such forms are described in Plate X of Ojha's Palaeography as pertaining to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. coins of the Andhras. Beyond these changes the script does not call for any comments.

The language used in this inscription is a little intriguing. On the obverse it is the usual Prakrit. The Prakrit of the reverse is somewhat peculiar. 'Hatakanisa' or 'Hatakanisha' is easily understood. 'Vahitti' apparently was used in some parts for the word 'Vasithi' was it from the Paisachi of the old Andhra Districts?

However the most remarkable word used is 'Thiru'. Incidentally Dr. Altekar suspects a 'Thiru' in the Vāsishtīputra Pulumavi's coin (vide his footnote 2 in J.N.S.I. XIV page 2). Mr. Dinkar Rao has read it correctly and has made some comments on its use in his article. He is justified to some extent in saying that it is an old Tamil word. How was this used in this coin? The Satavahanas do not appear to have penetrated beyond the Pennar line near Nellore where probably the early Pallavas were their feudatories. In the 2nd and 3rd century A. D. the early Cholas appear to have held Kanchi and up to Nellore.

I had a discussion with my friend Dr. Chidamabaranathan, an eminent Tamil scholar who is editing now a big Tamil Lexicon on the model of the Oxford English Dictionary in the Madras University. He gave me very valuable information on the subject for which I am very grateful to him.

Tamil as is wellknown is an ancient language. Its fine literature starts from about 1st or 2nd century B.C. and has a continuous history of over 2000 years. This language does not undergo drastic changes as the Prakrits of the north and is more akin to Sanskrit. To have literary output

from 2nd century B.C., the language must have been prepared from an earlier date. It starts with an early discipline of grammar. Like Panini for Sanskrit, Agastya is credited to have given Tamil its first grammar. Except in small quotations in literature his grammar has been lost. His date probably is very early, about 500 B.C. One of his disciples, Tolkappiyar gave the next grammar by name 'Tolkappiyam' to the Tamil language and it is the earliest book in this language now available. Its date is supposed to be not later than 4th century B.C. since after this grammar from almost 2nd century B.C. Tamil literature proliferates in the famous Sangam poetry. In one of the chapters of this grammar, in describing the ten agreements for marriage Tolkappiyar has used the word 'Tiru'. This is its most ancient use and it means wealth'. Later it undergoes the usual changes in meaning extending its connotation and by 1st century A.D. in the famous Tirukkural of Tiru Valluvar it is found in a number of verses in allied senses, its general meaning being 'exalted' or 'high', almost equivalent to 'Sri' of Sanskrit. It is therefore clear that 'Tiru' is an old proto-Dravidian word well known in all Dravidian areas though later its usage in Tamil became common. It was well known in Andhra and northern parts of Tamil country and the word 'Tiru' in place of 'Sri' was used for the peoples of these lands by the Satavahana Emperors.

It is now clear that from the time Gautamiputra Sātakarni defeated Nahapana, probably about the end of 1st century A. D. to Yajna Sri about the end of 2nd century A. D. or beginning of 3rd century A. D. there was an expansion of the Satavahana Empire from Malwa in the North to Pennar near Nellore in the South and to the seas on the East and West. Consequently these kings came in contact with the Kshaharātas and Kshatrapas of Western India and had friendly or inimical relations with them. They naturally liked the silver coin of the former and introduced it in their dominions changing slightly the script and language to suit the different regions.

Who this Vashithiputra Satakarni is has been ably discussed by Dr. Altekar when he dealt with the first coin of this king (J.N.S.I. Vol. XI (1). His conclusions were that he was the son-in-law of Mahakshatrapa, Rudradamān mentioned in Kanheri records and probably an uterine brother of Vāshithirputra Pulumavi. As suggested by Mr. Dinkar Rao this

king's figure looks almost like that of Vāshithīputra Pulumavi, though somewhat younger, with the same determined face and the acquiline nose. He can therefore be taken as the younger brother of Vāshithiputra Pulumavi till we get proof to the contrary. Dr. Altekar has also convincingly identified him with the Siva Sri of the Puranic list.

With the third coin of this king now available with clear inscriptions, we can dispel a lot of doubts raised by the discussions previously on this category of Satavahana silver.

I shall now conclude with a unique gold coin of Vikramaditya I, the Badami Chalukyan Emperor of the 7th century A.D.

*A unique Satavahana coin of Sata Meghavasthi*

It is now generally accepted that after the death of Asoka, above 232 B.C. the Satvahana or Andhra Kings of the Deccan become independent. From 2nd century B.C. or late 3rd century B.C. to the end of 2nd century A.D. or a little later they seem to have been the masters of the territory from the Vindhyas to the Pennar. Now and then, once in the early period and a second time in later days these rulers expanded in all directions upto Allahabad in the North, Ujjain in the West and even Magadha in the North East. In the milddle period they might have suffered an eclipse being pushed down South from even the North Deccan by the Kshaharātas and the Kshatrapas.

The Puranas give lists of 30 kings of this dynasty and a total rule of about 435 years. Modern research, especially Numismatics, is day by day revealing the names of innumerable kings of this dynasty very many of whom have been easily identified with those in the Puranic lists. While from the time of Gautamiputra Satakarni, no. 22 of the Puranic list and a ruler probably of the early 2nd century A. D., lots of coins have been found and it is easy to identify most of the rulers. Difficulties arise about the earliest kings and those who came in the middle.

Though the Puranas speak of Sisuka or Simuka as he is called in the Nanaghat Inscription as the founder and Krishna as the next King, a number of coins of a ruler by name Satavahana have been found. These kings have yet to be placed satifactorily. While Prof. Mirashi's view is that King Satavahana (a number of whose coins he has published) was the founder of the line, recent discoveries (*vide* J. N. S. I.,

Vol XXII, pages 138 to 145) indicate that there might have been a number of kings with the name Satavahana and their dates might range from 3rd century to 1st century B. C. Sisuka's and Krishna's coins have not yet been found. A very early Satakarni is also indicated as third in the Puranic list and his coins also have been identifiied but not beyond doubt, as there are innumerable Satakaranis; after the 3rd there is a 6th even in the early part of the list, apart from others down below.

Between Satakarni I and Goutamiputra Satakarni a number of kings are mentioned in the Puranic list. Coins of kings only *viz.*, those of Apilaka, Meghavasthi, Satakarni II and Hala have been identified, some doubtfully on vague similarities. For example in one coin (Item 27 of Dr. Rama Rao's list of published Śatavahana Coins) in the obverse the incription is 'tisa', on the reverse 'Sala'; in item 28 (*ibid.*) the obverse inscription is 'Sātisa'. These two coins are attributed to King Hala by Prof. Mirashi. Mr. Dinkar Rao however attributes them to Pulumavi I, 15th in the Purnanic list (J. N. S. I., Vol. xxii, pages 146 to 149).

The coin of Meghavasti (item 22 *ibid.*) is still more dubious. This has been published by Rapson (B. M. C., p. 28, Pl. V. G.p. 5). On the obverse there is a symbol of a horse facing right and there is an inscription 'Gha Sadasa.' Reverse seems to be blurred. 'Gha Sadasa' has apparently been taken as 'Sada Megha'.

Recently when I was going through my coin cabinet I discovered a copper rectangular coin of Sata Meghasa. Luckily this is in a fairly good condition and one could read all the inscriptions and symbols on both sides. I am first describing the coin below:—

Material: Copper.
Shape: Rectangular (22 x 16 m.m.)
Thickness: Slightly less than 3 m.m
Weight: 123 grains.
Obverse: Lower portion elephant with upraised trunk walking right; on its back three symbols with the Swastika in the centre; the small device to the left indistinct; the one to the right with the head, 2 legs and 2 arms and torso looks like a Homa, or frog or double 'Ya' Legend of five letters above the symbols, from left to right in a slightly

curved line. 'Ha Ta Me Ka Sa,' the last 'Sa' being a little blurred.

Reverse: A big Ujjain symbol to the left of the coin; each orb of which contains a pellet within two circles : the fourth orb except a very small portion being off the flank; between the upper two orbs the frog-like or double 'ya' figure; between the two lower orbs a symbol now indistinct.

A legend now faint, starting at IV and going up and can be traced, 'Ma' and 'Ta' appear somewhat clear; other letters are indistinct.

This coin was procured by me at Hyderabad in 1959 when I was the Accountant General there, along with other Sātavāhana coins. Its location can therefore be taken to be near about Hyderabad.

Its metal, copper, rectangular size, elephant and Ujjain symbols with Swastika and the old look of the coin definitely point to the earlier Sātavāhana types *viz.*, those of Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi I of 2nd and 1st century B.C.

The clear inscription above the elephant can easily be read as 'Ha Ta Me Ka Sa'. The coin belongs to a King whose name was 'Hata Meghasa' or 'Sata Meghasa.'

The most interesting and remarkable thing is the nature of the script in which some of the letters of the legend is inscribed. There are five letters in all above the elephant. The first 'Ha' has too much of a curved loop on the right. The upper straight limb is rather short. The second letter 'Tha' is cursive on the lower portion looking like a crescent. Its straight upper line is not visible. This is the type used in Nasik inscriptions of these Kings. The third letter 'Ma' or 'Me' is the most remarkable one. It is undoubtedly of the Battiprolu type. (*Vide* Plate IV of Ojha's Palaeography) and looks like '[illegible]'. Similarly the next letter 'Ka' is of the same type (*f*). There is nothing to comment on the next letter 'Sa' which is the usual type.

Now the Brahmi if the Battiprolu Stupa as is wellknown is somewhat different in some letters from of Asokan Brahmi. It is probably of the 2nd century B.C. Ojha calls it the Dravida Lipi derived probably from an older prototype Brahmi of 500 or 600 B.C., from which Asokan and this type evolved. Later the Asokan type generally prevailed.

If my reading is correct (I feel certain about it) some interesting conclusions follow. This coin belongs to the 1st century B.C. if not of the 2nd century B.C. The King who issued it had command over the coastal areas of the Andhra Districts especially Krishna valley and delta as Battiprolu is in this area. In the South Battiprolu script was apparently popular.

Can we identify this Sata Megha? The Matsya Purāṇa mentions the 9th King next to Apilaka as Sanga or Meghavasthi and gives him a rule of 18 years. It mentions the next King also as Sātakarṇi or Meghavasthi both with 18 years. Probably both were one and the same. In Viṣṇu Purāṇa the name of the 8th ruler is mentioned as Meghavasthi. In Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa next to Apilaka there is a Sandasa with 18 years of reign. Consequently we can deduce that the 9th King was Sata Meghasa. Giving an average of 15 years for each King, this Sata Meghasa must have reigned 120 years after the foundation of the dynasty. If we put the origin of this dynasty at about 230 B.C. this Sata Meghasa must have been ruling about 110 B.C. This agrees with palaeography especially the letters of Battiprolu variety and the ancient type of the coin. I think we can confidenly identify this coin as that of the Purānic Sātakarṇi Meghasvāti.

Incidentally the coin indicates through its southern Brahmi letters that Sātavāhana dominions in the 2nd century B.C. included the Krishna valley and probably came down to the Pennar line.

The coin in my possession is a better one of Meghavasthi than that of Rapson and is an unique find.

# "JAPAN'S CONTACT WITH INDIA, CHIEFLY DURING THE TEMPYO PERIOD"

Takakusu Junjiro

(Tr. by DAVID F. CASEY, *Kyoto*)

## I

The title assigned to me was "Japan's Contacts with India," but I have limited it to "Japan's Contact with India during the Tempyo Period." Were I to try to speak of Japan's contact with India in the widest sense, I could not possibly do it within one or two hours, and so I am limiting myself to the Tempyo Period.[1] Without a doubt, eastern culture means the two great cultures of India and China. Then, two cultures do not take second place to the culture of any country. Right between these two great cultures, the massive Himalayas form an enormous barrier. Because of this barrier the two cultures never fused into one, and yet the barrier was really only on the Chinese side. The current of Chinese culture, dammed up by these mountains of snow, could not advance forward towards India as much as one foot. India had a remarkably great capacity to absorb foreign culture, and yet we might say that its absorption of Chinese culture was nil.

We would expect that the Himalayas—the mountain of snow—at the same time that they impeded one side would also prevent the entrance of Indian culture into China. Certainly they were an obstacle and blocked off what was in front of them. And yet, in spite of this culture on the Indian side, because of its extraordinarily vigorous ability to go forth and disperse, penetrated the Chinese side by extending its hands on both sides of this one great barrier. The left hand brought culture out from India, carried it to Shinkiang; from Afganisthan scaling the Pamir Plateau reached Central Asia, the region of the Gobi desert, and coming out on the eastern

1. The *Tempyo Period* of Japanese history lasted from 724 to 794. Japanese art historians prefer this word to the more commonly used *Nara Period* which lasted from 710 to 794, the length of time the capital of Japan was Nara. (This and all following footnotes are those of translator, not the author.)

side of Tung Huang, stretched its hand straight ahead to Mt. Wu T'ai in China, its final destination. Then by the broad seaway to the south, Indian culture went rapidly from island to island, stretching out its right hand all the way to Java, Sumatra, Singapore, Cambodia, Annam and from Ning P'o proceeded north and reached Mt. Wu T'ai. With the mountains of snow directly in front, Indian culture had reached its two great hands from both sides and clasped China's Mt. Wu T'ai, the site of the Avataṁsaka[2] Monastery, where Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva was reincarnated, and so in this way came to influence China. With its free reach, the cultural hand of India at times exerted a direct contact even with Japan, and because influences directly reached Korea also, contacts between Japan and India began to be established during the Tempyo Period.

It is precisely from that period onwards that there has existed a cultural bridge from India to Japan. To help you understand this bridge, I will say a few things about its distinctive traits. At that time, India had completed its study of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Mahāyāna teaching had passed its peak and Mahāyāna culture was in full bloom. That period—the Japanese Tempyo Period and the Chinese T'ang Dynasty—was the apex of mature Indian Mahāyāna teaching. At that time groups of colonizers were leaving India, and with them, Mahāyāna culture. These colonizers were not only Mahāyāna Buddhists, but Hindus as well, but generally speaking, they were Mahāyāna Buddhists. Were one to ask, where in India was the center of emigration, we would say that a stream of colonizers assembled from here and there, and the place—like Japan's Kobe harbor—from which they poured forth was the present-day Coast of Coromandel (Cholamandala) in the neighborhood of Madras in South India. This is where they gathered and from where they left.

While still in India, these emigrants had not formed an empire. And we do not know if they had formed even a kingdom, but wherever they eventually arrived, they formed kingdoms. It was such a group of colonists who called themselves the Vijaya Empire. Gradually these people went

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2. The *Avataṁsaka sūtra* is known in Japan as the *Kegon Kyo*. It has had a profound influence on Japanese religious thought, as will become apparent later in this article.

from island to island ; first they conquered, but it was not a political conquest. They brought Indian culture, Mahāyāna culture. The first conquest was the island of Ceylon (Sinhala). But relatively speaking, Ceylon's Mahāyāna period was very brief. During it a Hīnayāna reaction arose. And already by the Tempyo Period Mahāyāna had been ostracized from the island of Ceylon. Buddhism flourishes even now in Ceylon, but it is a Buddhism restricted to the Hīnayāna teachings. Even now when we look at the excavated ruins in the vicinity of the capital of Anurādhapura, even images of Avalokiteśwara[3] can be seen, and Mahāyāna relics are in evidence. Then crossing the Indian Ocean Indian culture, by the period of the Six Dynasties,[4] had little by little, entered Java even. When the monk, Fa Hsien[5], called there on his voyage, Brahmanism was flourishing and Buddhism was hardly worth mentioning. This island, taking its name from Kalinga on the South Coast of India, was called Kalinga or Kalin.

Then in the T'ang Dynasty (Japan's Tempyo Period), within Buddhism there was the age of the Esoteric Doctrine, which had reached its full maturity. As some of you doubtlessly know, Borobudur, a shrine of a thousand Buddhas, is a monumental edifice, a small mountain with its entire surface covered with carved Buddha-images. The shrine of a thousand Buddhas is a so-called Buddhist Maṇḍala, specifically, a *Karma maṇḍala.*[6] *Maṇḍala* means a large circle. Within one large circle all Buddhas and Devas are grouped, and depicted in one scene. There are many kinds of maṇḍalas. Four kinds are the *Mahā,*[7] *Samaya,*[8]

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3. Avalokiteśwara, in Japanese, is Kannon.

4. The Six Dynasties is the name of the period of Chinese history extending from 222 to 589 A.D., or roughly from the end of the Han Dynasty to the Sui Dynasty.

5. Fa Hsien was a Chinese monk who recorded journey to and from India (399—414 A.D.) in the new famous work "Record of the Buddhist Kingdom" ; two English translations exist.

6. Two Chinese characters having the sounds *ka* and *ma*, were used to transliterate the sound of the Sanskrit *Karma.*

7. In Japanese, *dai* which corresponds in meaning to *Mahā.*

8. In Japanese, *sa-ma-ya*, phonetic transliteration of the Sanskrit, *samaya.*

*Dharma,*[9] and *Karma maṇḍalas.* There is a *picture maṇḍala* that displays all Buddhas in a picture. It is a two-dimentional drawing. This is called a *Mahāmaṇḍala.* There is *letter maṇḍala* that presents all Buddhas by their symbolic letters called *bījākṣara.* This is called a *dharma-maṇḍala.* And there is also the *samaya-maṇḍala.* A *samaya-maṇḍala* displays all Buddhas by means of their emblems, e.g., banners and so is an *emblem-maṇḍala.* And there are also *maṇḍalas* that present the forms of the Buddhas as such, that is, in three-dimentional sculpture. Such is the *karma-maṇḍala. Karma* means action, and in this case, the action of sculpturing.[10] This *karma-maṇḍala* did not come to Japan,[11] but the shrine of thousand Buddhas in Java is a sculptured *Karma maṇḍala.*

In the expansion of Mahāyāna Buddhism the Avataṁsaka Sūtra seems to have been very important, generally speaking. Thus, even at Borobudur the shrine of a thousand Buddhas depicts the scenes of the fifty-three pilgrimage stops of Sudhana. The fifty-three stations of the Tokaido[12] also came from the Avataṁsaka sūtra, but at Borobudur the fifty-three spiritual stages where Sudhana passed to visit those gurus are in sculptured form. Thirty-four previous births of Buddha, too, from the *Buddhajātaka,* are depicted in sculptured form. This monument in which Mahāyāna Esoteric Buddhism reached full bloom is still extant.

Amoghavajra[13] of the T'ang Dynasty visited throughout Java and Ceylon, and accepted the Esoteric teaching. That

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9. In Japanese the important Sanskrit word, *dharma,* was not transliterated phonetically, but translated by a word, meaning fundamentally *law.*

10. This explanation seems farfetched, but I can find no other explanation of the name, Karma-maṇḍala.

11. At Toji, a temple in Kyoto, there is at least a partial ife-sized maṇḍala in three dimensional sculpture.

12. Tokaido means "The Highway of the Eastern Sea" and was the highway from the Tokyo region to the Japanese capital at Kyoto. There were fifty-three famous stopping places for those making the journey. A famous Japanese woodblock artist, Hiroshige has immortalized these fifty-three scenes.

13. Amoghavajra, a Buddhist monk of the Brahman caste from South India entered China in 719 and introduced Tantrayāna Buddhism. Though he never went to Japan, this form of Buddhism reached Japan from China and is still extant as the Shingon sect, and is called Mikkyo.

culture, with little or no change, was transplanted to Sumatra. The remarkably extensive capital was Sumatra's present-day Palembang (Srifucha).[14] At that time it was the Empire of 'Śrīvijaya, the greatest Buddhist empire formed by the emigrants. This was later called *Sambuchi.* Because the Indian word Śrī is *san* in the local language, *Śrīvijaya* and *Sambuchī* are the same word. They both signify the Indian Vijaya Empire. *Vijaya* became *bujie.* The monk, I Ching,[15] going to and returning from India, stayed at Fucha. I Ching was of the opinion that it was useful for anyone going to India to first learn Sanskrit at Fucha. Both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Buddhism were flourishing there. I Ching copied scriptures there and then returned to China. The entire peninsula of Malaysia was a region basking in the rays of Indian culture, and even today place names are usually Indian. Even Singapore is an Indian name, and means the "City of Lions." And Cambodia, too, with its Indian name dating back to those times, had formed a great Indo-Malaysian civilization. Colonizers who had come from the Kamboja area of India had made it their center. Cambodia is a kingdom that has survived even to today. It has a king of Buddhist principles. The great temple of Angkor Wat is there. This is the same as our Japanese word *Gion Shoja.*[16] This place name means "City of Yaśodharā." Yaśodharā was the name of Prince Siddhārtha's wife. Indian civilization was transplanted to this region (Cambodia) with little change. Today there are many ancient monasteries that have been recovered from the forests of this jungle region. Although the upper sections of excavated wall slabs reveal Hindu and Hīnayāna objects, the lower sections reveal images of Avalokiteśvara and various devas ; thus we find traces of Mahāyāna Buddhism everywhere.

Ancient Funan, present-day Pnom, means *forest.* This *shinrin* (e.g. Japanese word for forest)[17] is also written Rinyu and is a very ancient Indian word. In the T'ang

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14. The Chinese characters that I have transcribed as 'srifucha' are literally : Shiyur-i-fuc-cha.

15. I Ching was a Chinese monk who visited India from 671 to 695 A.D.

16. The Gion Shoja is in Kyoto, Japan.

17. *Shinrin* is the common Japanese word for forest.

Dynasty the name was changed to Champa,[18] and also called *chanch'eng*,[19] it was a flourishing place. This new name, I believe, was given by new colonizers who changed the name after their arrival. Even today there is a Champa, inhabited by the Cham race. Conquered by foreigners, now only the name remains. The earlier name *Rinyu* is the sound *Rummi*, and *Rummi* is the same as *Rumbini*. There is also a *chorus* called *Rumbini*, but *Lumbini*[20] is the name of the detached palace where Śākyamuni was born. The name *Lumbini, chorus*, was applied to the pleasure grove from which the music of Buddhist teaching took its birth. The music of the Nara Period came from that pleasure garden. In this region Indian culture sprouted great blooms.

The right arm of Indian culture, proceeding north from South Annam went from Annam to the island of Hai-nan and then to Canton. Feng Kuo Fang,[21] the ruler of the island of Hai-nan, was a great pirate. At that time in maritime travel the Parsees were the most energetic and progressive.

When Mohammedanism took over Persia, the Persian fire worshippers, it seems, were exiled, and went to foreign countries. Those with financial resources engaged in flourishing trade. The Parsees are the people who left Persia and migrated to India and became India's Merchants. They are reputed to be exceptional business people. The Persian ships of these Parsees, five or ten ships each year, came East. If five ships came, Feng Kuo Fang would capture one ; if ten came, he would capture two. In this way he carried on quite a bit of systematic piracy. Were he to have captured all the boats, they would not have returned the following year. So, he took only a part. He confiscated the ship, looted the cargo. He left the Parsee men and women alive, and built a so-called Parsee village and made them live there. This Parsee village was a vast village, ten li east and west, and a

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18. Champa.

19. Chan-ch'eng (Chinese).

20. There is no distinction between l and r in Japanese ; hence the necessary ambiguity to the English reader of these sentences, and the seemingly arbitrary switch from r to l in my transliteration.

21. Read Feng Kuo Fang in Chinese, and Hyokokuho in Japanese.

two-day's journey north and south. According to an account of that time of Ganjiwasho, Fusho,[22] and the monk Yoei[23] who had studied abroad, while trying to get to Japan, became lost at sea and drifted together to this island; this Parsee village was ten li east and west and two-day's journey north and south as we have just said. I think that the facial complexion of the Parsees is discernible there even today. The chieftain, Feng Kuo Fang, said an amazing thing when Ganjiwasho and the Japanese landed there. "There is someone in your party who has the surname "Toyada" and that 'Toyada' is my nephew." They tried to find out such a person, but when they reported that there was no "Toyada" in the party, Feng Kuo Fang pretended that Ganjiwasho was the man and very graciously entertained them, letting them tour the whole island of Hai-nan, and preach, and then escorted them to Canton. This was truly amazing. Possibly Feng Kuo Fang was a Japanese ; in any case, he was a man who had some connection with Japan.

The Black Stream flows by the island of Hai-nan. In the summer this Black Stream passes the island of Hoko[24] on the mainland side of Taiwan, proceeds to the Ryukyu Island, passes by off the coast of Tosa[23] and hits straight ahead into the bay of Kishutanabe (Murotsu). The island of Hai-nan and the harbor of Tanabe, therefore, have been in contact from ancient times. From there the Black Stream flows by off shore from Kishu and encircles the eastern coast before making a great detour. Passing by the coast off the Island of Ogasawara,[25] it returns by way of the Philippines to Annam. So, fishing boats of the Mito[26] region drifted to Annam in great numbers. The island of Hainan and Tanabe are related to each other as corresponding opposite shores. The following is a post Tempyo story. There was a Toyoda Maru of Tanabe who was a multimillionaire, and very powerful as a foreign trader. This Toyoda Maru's son became a disciple of Kobo Daishi, and when Kobo Daishi founded Koyasan, he

22. Fusho.
23. Yoei.
24. Tosa.
25. Ogasawara.
26. Mito.
27. Kobo Daishi. The great founder of Japanese Shingon Buddhism.

helped him greatly. I think that this Toyoda Maru was a relative of Feng Kuo Fang. This has little connection with my subject ; it is just an aside on Indian-Japanese contacts.

To return to our subject, ships from powerful countries formed a forest of masts at the river mouth of Canton. Records mention that the ships of white and black barbarians gathered there from all directions. A man in charge of the port of Canton was a Persian, a merchant named I-Lan-Pin. Because Canton was a port oriented to export with foreign countries, foreigners pointed to Canton and called it China. When they went north they called the regions of Loyang[28] and Ch'ang An,[29] Marachina. Mt. P'otala[30] at Ming P'o was the place sacred to Avalokiteśvara which the Japanese E-gaku[31] founded in the T'ang Dynasty. Then going north, Indian culture reached Mt. Wu T'ai. And so the great bridge of Buddhism reached from India to China. This was the sea route by which Indian culture was transplanted and directly stretched out its hand from South of the Himalaya mountains. This was mainly a bridge of Mahāyāna Buddhism and because of it, India's direct contact with Japan came about.

## II

The time when this bridge of Buddhism was in full operation corresponds to the Tempyo Period. It was a little before the Tempyo Period that persons first travelled this bridge to Japan. Hoto came from Rājagṛha in India. Actually we do not know his original name, but it may have been Dharmabodhi. He lived on Mt. Hiromine in present day Kasaigun, then called Innamigun in Banshu. He was devoted to Bishamonten (e.g. Vaiśravaṇa Kubera), Gozu-Tenno (e.g. Gośīrṣa, "Ox-head"). Kannon Bosatsu, and

28. Loyang, capital of China during the later Han and Western Chin Dynasties.

29. Ch'ang An, capital of China during the Early Han, Sui and T'ang Dynasties. It was also called Hsi-an-fu.

30. The name of this mountain, as well as the similarly named mountain in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa derives from a mountain in the Malakuta region of India according to a T'ang Dynasty Chinese traveller to India.

31. Egaku.

others. Thus, according to Buddha's plan, he evangelized. About that time in the third year of Hakuchi 652, the Emperor Kotoku fell sick and every medical care was administered, but because there was no change for the better, Dharmabodhi, summoned from this far away place, prayed for the Emperor inside the palace. And so, within a short time, he recovered from the illness. The Emperor's six sons were there, and they came before Dharmabodhi and performed the Roku-O-Rahai (respect shown by six Kings), bowing their heads and thanking him. After that, Dharmabodhi remained for some time in the palace and performed Indian religious ceremonies.

The first performed was the ceremony called *Limitless Assembly* (Mu-sha-e, actually a transliteration of Mokṣa). When "*Limitless Assembly*" was performed, whoever came could not be cxcluded. It was a Dharma Assembly at which alms were liberally bestowed. It is certain that in India, every fifth year without fail, the King performed this ceremony. This *Limitless Assembly* was performed within the palace. Secondly, the "Uposatha Assembly, (Fu-Satsu-E)" was held. This religious ceremony was a confession (zange) of one's own sins, in the light of the vinaya rules which were expounded. This was held once a week. It was somewhat like the Sunday School of present-day Japan. Another ceremony performed in the palace was the "Mahāyāna Assembly (Daizo)," which has had a special influence on us. *Daizo* (Mahāyāna) means *Issaikyo* ("All Sūtras"). At this ceremony all sūtras were copied out (Shakyo). There was also a "Turning and Reading Ceremoney (tendoku)". There was also a ceremony of reverencing the Issaikyo (Keisan). Whether or not all these ceremonies were performed in the palace we do not know, bnt at any rate, the Issaikyo lectures (Koenkai) were. Every year since then, "Issaikyo Assemblies" have been held. It was Dharmabodhi, (Hoto) who first conducted this. From Shotoku Taishi until that time, Buddhism had been coming in, but it had not sunk its roots very deeply. But thanks to Dharmabodhi's zealous preaching to the people, Buddhism finally sank its roots down in Japan.

Afterwards Dharmabodhi returned to Banshu and built the monastery called *Hokkezanji*. In building this *Hokkekzanji*, he constructed the standard seven hall compound (shichido-garan), including a pagoda in honor of Gozu-Tenno, a

Kannon hall and a Bishamonten hall. When this was constructed, Emperor Kotoku himself made an imperial visit and performed the dedication ceremony (Rakkeishiki). This in itself was a matter of deep Buddhist significance. For the written word, *Gozu-Tenno,* means "Oxen Headed." In India, the ritual of Gozu-Tenno was extremely important. Among the places where Buddha preached for fifty years, two are most important, the Gion Pleasure Garden (Gionshoja), at the city of 'Śrāvasti, and at Rājagṛha, Gṛdhrakūṭa (Vulture Peak). The Gion Jetavana was on the northern boundary and the Vulture Peak of Rājagṛha was on the southern boundary. At the sacred places of the northern and southern boundaries, he dwelt and preached more than twenty years, and they are intimately connected with his life. The mountain of the Gion Jetavana is a small hill in a place about two blocks outside Śrāvasti. The name of this place is Mt. Gozu (Ox Headed Mountain). The tutelary deity of Gion Jetavana is Gozu-Tenno. Just as the tutelary deity of Mt. Hiei is Hiyoshi, this Gozu-Tenno is the protective deity of the Gion Jetavana. This local protective deity (chinju), Gozu-Tenno, was introduced and enshrined. Dharmabodhi, after evangelizing for some time, went away with the comment "I have done what I could," but where he went, no one knows. He could have returned to India.

Later, during the Heian Period, Ennyo, the Buddhist Master, who was one of the ten dhyāna Masters of the day, went to Kokkesanji in Banshu, at imperial command, bronght back Gozu-Tenno, and enshrined hlm in the Yasaka of Kyoto, which is the present-day Gion Jinja. Even now if you visit there, you will see written on the framed tablet (gaku) the words "Gozu-Tenno". Originally, when Kami and Buddhas were syncretized, in the time of Ryobhu Shinto (e.g. up until Meiji Era), this tablet was hung up at the Gion Jinja. Then at the beginning of Meiji, because it was a period of distinguishing Kami and Buddhas, Gozu-Tenno was removed, and only Susanoonomikoto was left. However, the framed wooden tablet was left there by an oversight. But then, too, there does seem to be a connection with Susanoonomikoto. Either Susanoonomikoto once went to Korea, or he was a person who came from Korea. In Korea there is a Gozu mountain. The present-day "Goshi-mo-ri", is similar to the present-day word "tsumuri," and seems to mean "head"; if this Gozu Mountain

should be related to Susanoonomikoto, I think the word "Susa," too, would probably have the meaning of "Ox." This Gozu Mountain, too, was not a word indigenous to Korea ; It is an Indian name brought in by the Northern hand of Indian culture. In China, too, there are two places called Mt. Gozu, and they are probably similar derivatives. Passing on to Central Asia, there is a Mt. Gozu in Khoten, and the word gave the name to Mt. Gyukaku, too, was probably Gosiranga. In India there is a Mt. Gozu in the Gion Jestana. In Nepal, too, in the middle of the Himalayas, there is a Mt. Gozu, and it is a sacred place of Mañjuśrī. I presume that in that place the ritual and ceremonies are carried out just as Dharmabodhi taught. The Kyoto Gion's ritual of "Yatora" is a celeberation of music and dancing lasting several days, while the image sojourns at the *O-tabi-sho,* to which it has been brought. This is done even today, and the date is around June 16 (could be July 16). Everything is just as Dharmabodhi taught it. Dharmabodhi was a man from Rājagṛha. It is thought that he must have brought from there also the tutelary image (chinju honzon,) of Gṛdhrakūṭa in Rājagṛha. This is not historically recorded, but it must have been Dharmabodhi, who brought this cult. Mt. Zoto Kotohira at Samuki on the shore opposite Banshu- the mountain that is on the left side of the northern edge of India's Rājagṛha is called Gayaśiras and is a mountain shaped like the head of an elephant with its right side facing the beholder-this Mt. Zoto is also called *Pipura*; Mt. Zoto Konpirayasha is the tutelary deity of Rājagṛha's Gṛdhrakūṭa. This Konpirayasha just as it was, was enshrined in the Kompira at Samuki. Who brought it is unknown, but it is extremely old. I imagine that Dharmabodhi must have brought this from Rājagṛha. Kompira in Buddhist manuscript copying was abbreviated. And then, it was later divided. (The original Sanskrit is Kumbhīra Yakṣa, literally "Alligator dragon." He was a dragon king converted by Buddha and became a guardian of Buddhism.)

Generally speaking, among the various gods that came from India Kishimojin, "The Mother Goddess Who Eats Children, (cf. Sokagakkai), Marishiten, Kichijoten, Bonten, Shoten, Taishakuten, Takochiniten, Suitengu, all are Indian deities. The German Ambassador and scholar, Zolph, when he came and looked at Japan, could not help but feel as if he

had gone to India. Because of the fact that India had to this extent emigrated, unless Mahāyāna Buddhist thought is thoroughly understood, the intermingling of Eastern and Western thought can never be expected. In reverencing the Indian Gods, there are special ceremonies. In Buddhism there are regulations. In worshipping Marishiten, in worshipping Kichijoten regulations spell out exactly what is to be done. By merely following these directions, anyone can perform them. Thus, even if Indians did not come and teach them, the ceremonies could be done in Japan. But in the case of Gozu-Tenno and Kompiradeva, there are no special regulations, unless an Indian or someone connected with these *devas* had introduced the patron deities and the way to worship them, such cults could not have entered Japan. And so, I think that because Dharmabodhi was a man from Rājagṛha, he introduced the Kompiradeva of Mt. Zoto and likewise Gozu-Tenno, one of the two sacred places of Rājagṛha's Gion Jetavana, and that he also taught the cremony of Yatora and its meaning. (Yatora no shikiri). The ceremonies of Indian religions, whether they were performed in the palace or among the populace, were imported into Japan, precisely as they were.

The one who brought to Japan, in the way just mentioned, the form of religious ceremonies was Dharmabodhi. The influence exerted upon the thought of the people, the vestiges of these showered blessings, is extensive. A point to remember is that it was an Indian who inaugurated the Dharma assembly, at which successive Emperors had the Issaikyo copied and reverenced. In the whole world there is no country where so much of the Issaikyo has been preserved. Things that originated in India are no longer in India even. Things printed in China are not in China. There exist in Korea wood blocks, but other editions of the Issaikyo are scattered and lost. And so in Japan, what is really ancient, the eighteen sects of Mahāyāna Buddhism have survived completely. To that should be added what is new also, the thirty sects that are still in existence. Those who want to study Buddhism could not do so without these fundamental scriptures. That is the reason that research on true Buddhism is impossible except in Japan. And so I bring to a close my remarks on the fact that the form of religious ritual came to Japan directly from India.

III

The next man to cross over the Buddhist bridge of Mahāyāna from the South was the Abbot Baramon, and he was a man from Central North India, (Nakatenjiku, Madhyapradesh?). His original name was Bodhisena and his family name Baradoja. He was called Abbot Baramon because he was appointed Abbot by Emperor Shomoku. Then at that time, an amazing thing happened; a rumor was spread in India that Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva appeared in China. Therefore, it became popular to go from India to China in order to meet Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva. The Kegon Tera on Mt. Wu T'ai was famous as the sacred place of the reincarnation of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva. Mt. Wu T'ai is also called Mt. Sei-ryo. The fact that until recently the Chinese Empire was called "Ch'ing" goes back to the name of this Mt. Sei-ryo; it was also called the Manchu Dynasty. Manchu means Monju (Mañjuśrī). Because Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva appeared on Mt. Wu T'ai, Baramon went to meet him, and because Baramon was an Indian he went past the islands of the South, to Funan, and to the offing of the Kochin region which was called Rinyu, but there was a man who was in difficulty because he had been shipwrecked. That man was Buttetsu of Rinyu. In the T'ang Dynasty the name Rin Yu (Jetavana), was changed to Champa. Buttetsu had gone to sea to get pearls and was unexpectedly shipwrecked, so the Abbot Baramon helped him and took him on board. Buttetsu, too, was an Indian. Because Baramon at least was brought up in Indian civilization, he could talk to him and understand his plight. "I am now on my way to China to meet Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, and you are as if dead as you are, since you are shipwrecked. What about coming along with me to China?" Immediately he agreed and went to China. Travelling on and on, they came to Soochow. Crossing over to Mt. Wu T'ai they visited Kegon Monastery and asked to meet the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. But the resident monk at the Kegon Monastery—perhaps he was a young monk—seems to have been Japanese. "You have travelled so far; truly I am sorry but at the moment Mañjuśrī is away," he answered. When they asked where he had gone, "At the moment he has gone on a trip to Japan; if you go to Japan, I would think you could meet him," he replied. Dejected they returned to Soochow. Then they met a foreign student from Fodaiji named Rikyo. As if by previous plan,

Rikyo invited them "What about going to Japan?" By chance, too, the ship of the Ambassador to the T'ang Dynasty was that day ready to leave for Japan. They decided to go to Japan because, if they went to Japan aboard, they could not only go safely, but also meet Mañjuśrī while on his trip to the East. So, it happened that Abbot Baramon and Buttetsu came to Japan together.

Actually this ship of the returning T'ang Ambassador had an exceptionally precious cargo. Great men happened to be aboard together. First of all, Kibi no Makibi, later to be Minister of the Right (udaijin), who had no equal as an importer of Chinese culture. This man had finished his study abroad of early T'ang and was now on his way home. Secondly, the Abbot Genbo who brought to Japan the Vijñassamātra or Hossoshu, after twenty years in T'ang China, with arms full of 2078 rolls of Mahāyāna Scriptures, was en route home. And thirdly the first transmitter of Japanese commandments (kairitsu), the Master of Laws (Risshi), and fourthly, Enshinkyo, the Musicologist who was invited to head the Nara academy. Fifthly, Rikyo, who had studied abroad, and on an informal Imperial command had invited Indian monks, was returning to Japan. Sixthly the previously mentioned Baramon or Bodhisena, who was the great Kegon Saint. And seventhly the great music master from Champa (Rinyu), Buttetsu, a famous name in music. All of these people were on the ambassador's boat. The boat entered far into the inland sea and arrived at the mouth of Osaka horbor. Gyoki, Bodhisattva, at Emperor Shomoku's order, at the head of the Musicians from Shitennoji, led them down to the harbor entrance. At Shitennoji there was a department of court music, founded by Shotokutaishi and the teaching of Kigaku (kuregaku, Wu Dynasty Music) was flourishing. These musicians of court music, led by Gyoki Bosatsu, played music to welcome the voyagers. And then the ship was seen coming from far off and entering the harbor with Baramon's party aboard. There were speeches of welcome on his arrival. The Abbot Baramon understood Chinese and a great deal of Japanese for he had studied it on board the ship. The Bodhisattva Gyoki more or less understood Sanskrit and of course Chinese. According to the Konjakumonogatari, they talked to each other in waka, but at that time it was impossible;

at any rate, it is certain that on first meeting they greeted each other as old friends.

Buttetsu and the Abbot Baramon were greeted by the Bodhisattva Gyoki, and overjoyed they entered the Nara Capital. When they approached the Nara Capital, they entered Sugawaradera, Gyoki's own dwelling. Sugawaradera is at the foot of a hill called Fushimi. The two excellent monks (Kesso), were welcomed and feasted and were so happy that they thought surely Gyoki Bodhisattva must be Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva. May be he really was. Because both Baramon and Buttetsu were musicians, as the feast progressed, they took up their chopsticks and beat time with them (hakuban wo nasu, e.g. to hit one chopstick against two others that are tied together) and together sang and danced. Then, the beggar called "The Old Timer of Fushimi," came into the banquet. This beggar usually slept on the mountain in the back of the monastery. Because he never said anything, people thought him deaf and dumb. He was always sleeping on this mountain, and from time to time lifting his head, would look towards the East. And so people named him the "Old Timer of Fushimi." This "Old Timer of Fushimi" now heard the songs of the two men and got up. Hearing the Indian songs and seeing the Indian dances, the speech-less Old Timer, who until now had never spoken a word, right away joined in and danced and sang, saying *Toki narukana, toki narukana, toki itareri*, the time is come, the time is come, the time has really come. He apparently knew the words and music. Thus, it seems that in the Nara Period, there were many foreigners from the region of India.

## IV

By imperial command both men were assigned to Daianji, found there an academy (literally, gakuryo), where they taught Sanskrit and introduced music. From time to time they received imperial gifts of clothing. Shoei, the Abbot of Toji, took great pains to restore Daianji, and Daianji is the lyceum, where the illustrious monks, well-versed in arts of a foreign country, were allowed to live and where they introducd these arts. It was here that Buttetsu and the Abbot Baramon stayed and expounded the Avataṁsaka sūtra and taught Sanskrit. Buttetsu, too, seems to have been quite an

excellent monk. There is certain evidence that Buttetsu's book on Sanskrit grammar called "Siddham Composition" existed in Japan until the first year of Meiji. I searched for this in old monasteries but could not find it at all. However, we can vaguely imagine what it was like, because it is quoted in other works. Because they taught Sanskrit, the two learned monks introduced into Japan the chart of Indian consonants and vowels, thus designing the way of listing the fifty sounds of the Japanese language. The pattern of Indian and Japanese sounds are more or less different. The *a, i, u, e, o* of the a-row are the five sounds that combine the two sounds, long and short, of the Indian launguage. The *ka, ki, ku, ke, ko* of the *ka* and following rows are arranged in the same way; accordingly, there should be *ka, kā, ki, kī, ku, kū, ke, kai, ko, kao* but by abbreviating the long and short vowels, the five sounds became *ka, ki, ku, ke, ko*. The *sa, si, su, se, so* of the sa-row is an independant sa-sound from the Indian *cha, chi, chu, che, cho* of a cha-row; these together with an independant sha-sound were combined to make *sa, si, su, se, so*. In India there are two ta-rows, dental and fricative. Both were combined to form one row—*ta, chi, tsu, te, to*. The *na, ni, nu, ne, no* of the na-row, gathers all nasal sounds other than *ma*, and forms one row. The *ha, hi, hu, he, ho*. The *ma, mi, mu, me, mo* of the ma-row formed a special row of the ma-nasal sounds. The *ya, yi, yu, ye, yo* formed the row of the independent sound, *ya*. The Sanskrit *ya* sound is different from the Japanese and somewhat stronger; in ancient times it was written *iya, ii, iyu. ie, iyo*. In primary schools around the eighth year of Meiji, there were charts written this way. The *ra, ri, ru, re, ro* of the ra-line formed a row combining the two ra-sounds of Sanskrit. The two ra-sounds are the *l* and *r* of European languages. In Japan one sound is formed that is close to an "r." In China both are reduced to a sound close to "*l*" Japanese people cannot say "l." Chinese cannot pronounce "*r*." The *wa, wi, wu, we, wo* of the wa-row may not have existed in Japan previously. In the ancient charts of fifty sounds the *a, i, u, e, o* of the a-row and the *wa, wi, wu, we, wo* of the wa-row are both listed. In Japan there are signs that both will surely become one row. In Japanese, "ware" and "are" have become one. Thus the manner of listing the fifty sounds came from the Indian sound chart. The Indian list of consonants and vowels, with little change

became the Japanese chart of sounds. The opinion has persisted that the manner of listing the fifty sounds of Japan was the work of Kibinomakibi in the Tempyo Period. A further mistaken notion is that Count Kibinomakibi designed the written form of the fifty sounds. It is a completely false tradition. When charters were used to transcribe the fifty sounds of Sanskrit, abbreviated charters were used.

During the 450 years from the Nara to the Heian Period through long usage, the script became fixed, and almost the end of the Heian Period, the Katakana script finally emerged. Toru Oya's research proves this conclusively. Therefore, the script of the fifty sounds was certainly not compared by Kibinomakibi. If so, he also did not draw up the chart of the way of listing the fifty sounds. Probably because of the fact that various civil and military arts of the Nara Period were by and large brought over to Japan by Kibinomakibi, this legend arose. It is most natural that an Indian introduced the way of listing vowels and consonants, while Baramon and Buttetsu were teaching Indian Sanskrit daily at the Daianji academy. Surely it was the result of the contact of Indians with the Nara Dynasty. It was these two men who first brought to our country the form of diagramming Indian sounds. The Abbot Baramon himself preached at Daianji. At that time according to the Indian ritual, he erected a banner before preaching. Even now it is called "Ceremony of erecting the banner (Kenhoto no shiki)" and in the Sotoshu and others, it is still performed. There is a new custom to erect a banner in the garden of temple when expounding the law and preaching.

There is a poem in the Manyoshu composed by Prince Takamiyao: "Birds ate up the little field cultivated by Baramon and with swollen eyes alighted on the banners."

The Abbot Baramon received gifts of clothing for each season from Emperor Shomoku of Nara-Heian Dynasty and was given a rice field with a villa. It is not known whether he decided to cultivate the field with his own hands, but because his birth in India was the place where the best rice, called Daijinmae, was raised, possibly he himself tried to cultivate the field. Either directly or indirectly the Abbot Baramon cultivated that rice field. Even though one

knows the words of the previously quoted song, if he forgets that the Indian Baramon lived in Nara-Heian, he will not understand the significance of the song. The great Teacher Keichu wrote a book called ranyodaishoki and presented it to the Dainagon of Mito; in it he does not really give an explanation of the poem. He simply wrote, "There is no meaning to the song other than of the words themselves." However, he did not understand the song because he did not know that the Abbot Baramon had lived. As I said previously, the Indian Baramon stood up and preached, erected a banner and preached—if this is understood, the meaning of the song becomes clear immediately. Thus the Abbot Baramon preached there, and its influence reached even the birds and beasts. This *tanka* is certainly to be understood in this sense. The birds who were nibbling away the rice field Baramon had cultivated were harming the field, but because of Baramon's power to move hearts, they regretted their deed.

## V

And now, the next subject I will discuss is games (*goraku*). Indian games migrated to Japan and foremost among amusements of the Nara-Heian or Tempyo period, was the game of *Go*. There is a *Go*-Board at the Shosoin. On the side are two drawers, and when one is pulled out, the other goes in. These drawers contain the white and black stones. I think that instead of three hundred and sixty-one squares, there are probably a few remaining more. I think the number is twenty. The way it was played is not clearly known. Present-day Go-Rules differ in Japan and China. According to Japanese Go-Rules, when you take a stone of the opponent, you can use it to occupy enemy space. This using of the captured stone is unique to Japan. The same is true in chess (*shogi*), too. It is not clear to me whether *Go* originated in India or in China. Chess came from India and went to Persia and the west. Throughout the world there are a few games related to the Japanese chess. There is a chess game in Persia, India and Japan, but in China the game seems to have been forgotten. However, in whatever countries chess is played, a captured piece is removed from the game; only in Japan is a captured piece used. In Japanese chess, as you doubtlessly know, much of the appeal is because the captured piece is used. To that extent the Japanese progressed a step

further than foreign countries. This chess is an out and out Indian game.

Indian troops were drawn up in four sections. These were the infantry, chariotry, cavalry, and elephant divisions. In time of war the elephants were given wine to drink and filled with good cheers. They charged into the midst of the enemy. They would impale ten or twenty men with one tusk and so were powerful divisions. The infantry were foot soldiers, the cavalry were horsemen; the charioteers fought like the charioteers of Greece and Rome. The Indian organization of troops displayed in four ranks, just as it was, became a game. In India it signified the *caturaṅgī*, "Four Ranks." When this game went to Persia, it became "Shah (King)," and when it came to Europe, it became "chess." In the European form of chess, generals became a Queen and the Bishops along side the King and Queen. The way of playing seems almost the same, but there are several differences. As for how it came to Japan, it did not come by way of the south. It seems to have come by way of the north a little before the Tempyo Period. Certainly in the Tempyo Period, Súgoroku was already in Japan. I think chess also might have been played among the populace even. It seems to have come by way of the place called Khotan in Northern Han China. Khotan is the land of Jude, the land from where Jude came and travelled to the East. The Jude that came from there, the river of white jude, the river of green jude, was journeyed in all eastern countries. Because this jude was a most precious substance, it expected a great change in chess; the central figure which was a King in Persia and a Queen in Europe, became a Jude General in Khotan. On both sides of him was a Gold General and a Silver General; the cavalry are depicted as knights; the charioteers were represented by flying chariots made of aromatic wood and forming a front and rear guard. The "Corner pieces" are the elephant soldiers. The character for elephant was divided and rewritten (corner and to go). The dividing and rewriting of the character for elephant was clever, for the elephant soldiers can advance diagonally.

Then, gradually in time chess migrated to China. The fact that chess does not exist in China today, seems to indicate that it did not enjoy great popularity. If so, we might wonder how it came to Japan. It seems that the immigrant family

called Hatauji brought it to Japan. The people called Hatauji had already come to Japan in the time of Shotokutaishi. They wove silk and were an immigrant family of the Tun Huang region who make silk weaving their profession and had come from Khotan. The Hata family specialized in looms (hata). The silk they produced, too, was called "hata," and the family of weavers were "hata." The people who wove on the machines were called "hataori." They made their hometown in Uzumasa in Kyoto. Therefore, though you would expect these two characters to be read Daishin, they are actually read "Uzumasa." The Nishijin district of Kyoto was their headquarters. Because they donated the property that they had in Kyoto, the capital was built in Kyoto. In ancient times the place called Khotan was called Kuwatan. Because silk-wadding came from Khotan, it was called "Kuwatan"; in Arabia it became "kuhatan," and in English "cotton." Because the Hata family that brought the method of production introduced it to Japan, everything connected with it came to be called *hata*. Hata is an euphonic corruption *Kuwatan*, I think. The cloth that was made in Khotan was called *hata*, the people that made *hata* were called the Hata family or *hatauji*; the apparatus used to weave *hata* came to be called *hata* (e.g. Japanese word for loom).

Then afterwards cotton was made, and this especially came to be called *Kiwata* (literally tree-silk). Instead of saying *hata*, because of the *ki* that preceeds it, *kihata* was called *kiwata* for euphonic reasons. Later the *ki* (tree) was dropped, and it was called simply *wata*. In the Manyoshu there is a word *wata* belonging to the Tempyo Period. In the thirtieth year of the Heian Period, an Indian drifted to Japan. He came in a small boat and had with him cotton tree seeds. When asked what they were, he answered *wata* (cotton). At first I thought that the word came from Sanskrit. For in Sanskrit cotton tree seeds are *wudara*. But this idea does not fit the facts. For in the Tempyo Period, for example, in the Manyoshu there was already a word, cotton (wata). In recent times in Japan, we speak of cotton thread also and use the English word, cotton. All of these words can be traced back to the same origin as the ancient Japanese word *hata*. My preceding remarks are but a few brief words about the route that something Central Asian took to enter Japan, and I am of

the opinion that when the Hata family came, they brought along *sugoroku* and *shogi* (Japanese for chess) also. However, because *sugoroku* is a Korean-sounding word, it probably came by way of Korea. It was called Hakuroku in China.

## THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

6—7—1965

*Dr. David Pingree*

'Indian Influence on early Sassanian and Arabic Astronomy' was the subject of a paper read by Dr. David Pingree of the Oriental Institute of Chicago University at a special meeting of the Institute on 6th July 1965. The Meeting was held in the Srinivasa Sastri Hall. The speaker was introduced by Dr. V. Raghavan. Dr. Pingree's paper is published in the present volume of the Journal.

3—1—1966

21*st Foundation Day Celebrations*

The 21st Foundation Day of the Institute was celebrated on 3rd January 1966 at the Srinivasa Sastri Hall. Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Vice President of the Institute, presided. Dr. J. D. H. Derret, Professor at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, spoke on the 'Role of Dharmaśāstra in Modern comparative Legal History'.

Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer welcomed the gathering. Dr. V. Raghavan read the messages received.

The Report of the work of the Institute for the period 1st August 1965 to 31st July 1966 was presented by Sri K. Balasubrahmania Iyer.

Sri T. V. Viswanatha Iyer thanked the lecturer and the Chairman.

6—4—1966

*General Body Meeting*

The Annual General Body Meeting of the Institute was held on 6-4-66 at the premises of the Institute. The Annual Report and the Audited Statement of Accounts of the Institute were adopted. For the vacancies in the General Body and the Research Committee the following were elected: Vice-President: Sri T. L. Venkatarama Iyer. Trustees:

T. V. Viswanatha Iyer, K. Chandrasekharan. General Body: Sri D. Ramalinga Reddy, M. M. Gurunath, R. Rangachari. Research Committee: Sri T. N. Ramachandran, Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Sri P. Thirujnanasambandham.

2—1—1967

Dr. Hans Peter Schmidt of the Indology Department of the University of Tubingen spoke on 'The Vedic Origin of *Ahimsā*'.

## OBITUARY NOTICES

*V. R.*

The cruel hand of death has taken a heavy toll in the field of Sanskrit and Indological studies during 1965-67.

### *Profs. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya Durgamohan Bhattacharya and Jitendranath Banerji*

In Bengal Prof. *Sivaprasad Bhattacharya*, a leading Ālaṅkārika and editor of *Alaṅkārakaustubha* of Kavikarṇapura, Śrīdhara's commentary on *Kāvyaprakāśa* etc. passed away on 12-11-1965. *Sri Durgamohan Bhattacharya* who was Professor of Veda at the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, died prematurely. His last important work was the discovery of complete manuscripts in good condition of the *Paippalāda* recension of the *Atharva Veda* of whose edition, unfortunately, he could bring out only the first volume before his demise. *Prof. Jitendranath Banerji*, formerly Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta passed away on 12-5-66. He made prominent contribution to Hindu Iconography, supplementing the work of Gopinatha Rao. He was 72 at the time of his death.

### *Dr. S. K. Belvalkar*

On 9-1-67, Dr. Belvalkar passed away as Poona. After a brilliant career in the College, Belvalkar was first Curator of the Mss. Library at the Deccan College, Poona. He then went to Harvard University and took his Doctorate with his edition of the *Uttararāmacarita* which later appeared in the *H.O.S.* He was then successively Professor at the Deccan College, Poona, and at the Banaras Hindu University, Banaras. For 18 years he was the General Editor of the *Mahābhārata* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and took upon himself the editing of six of the Parvans. He was also closely connected with the All-India Oriental Conference of which he was General President in 1943 at the Banaras session. He received the Presidential Certificate of Honour for Sanskrit scholars in 1960. In addition to his edition of the *Uttararāmacarita* and the Parvans of the *Mahābhārata*, he also edited *Bhagavad Gītā*, *Kāvyādarśa* and *Brahmasūtras*. He brought out also an essay on the Systems of Sanskrit Grammar and an account of the creative period of Indian Philosophy.

*Prof. H. D. Velankar*

Prof. Velankar who passed away on 13-1-67 was a versatile scholar, his contributions ranging over the fields of Veda, Prākṛts, Metrics, and Jainism. After a brilliant academic career, he became Professor of Sanskrit at the Wilson College, Bombay, where he spent the most part of his career. After retirement he worked for the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, and when the Bombay University instituted a University Professorship in Sanskrit, he was appointed the first Professor. Among his works are editions of several selections of Ṛg Vedic Hymns with translation and notes, the Sauptika Parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, two Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts, editions of several texts on Sanskrit and Prākṛt metres and the *Jinaratnakośa*, a catalogue of Jain works and authors in the different mss. libraries. He was recipient of the Kane Gold Medal of the Bombay Asiatic Society and the President's Certificate of Honour for Sanskrit scholars in 1963.

*Dr. V. S. Agrawala*

The death at the age of 62 of Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala removes from the field of Indology a versatile and prolific writer. He was Professor and Head of the Department of Art and Architecture in the Banaras Hindu University. After graduating in Sanskrit, Dr. Agrawala became deeply interested in Indian art and archaeology and was connected with the Lucknow Museum and the U. P. Historical Research Society and its Journal. He was for a time engaged also in the preparatory work of the setting up of the National Museum in New Delhi. A well known Hindi writer, Dr. Agrawala produced several studies of Sanskrit classics, expounding the cultural meterial found in them. His Doctorate thesis *India in Panini* is a mine of information. He wrote numerous papers. In the last years, he turned to the Vedas on which he produced some new interpretative studies, his mind having taken a mystic turn. His published works are themselves in large number but he has also left in ms. several volumes of his studies and researches which have to be edited and published.

*Y. Mahalinga Sastri*

In the death on 26-4-1967 of Y. Mahalinga Sastri, the Sanskrit world in the South lost a gifted Sanskrit poet

and playwright. Although he did not write many research articles, he made one valuable contribution, *Life of Appayya Dīkṣita* in two instalments in the pages of the *Journal of Oriental Research.* Sanskrit was in his blood ; a scion of the family of the great Appayya Dīkṣita, he was the great grandson of Mm. Tyagaraja alias Raju Sastrigal of Mannargudi, author of the Nyāyenduśekhara and other works, and son of Mm. Yajnaswami Sastrigal. Sri Mahalinga Sastri was honoured by the Madras Sanskrit Academy for his full-length play *Pratirājasūya.* Other Sanskrit plays of his are *Ādikāvyodaya, Udagātṛdaśānana,* and the shorter farces *Kauṇḍinyaprahasana, Kaliprādurbhāva, Śṛṅgāranāradīya etc.* A collection of his minor poems was published by him under the title *Kiṅkiṇimālā.* In prose, his *Bhāsakathāsāra* is well known. H. H. Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pitha, honoured him on the occasion of his *Ṣaṣṭipūrti* with the title *Kavi-sārvabhauma.*

### *Dr. A. Sankaran*

Dr. A. Sankaran was one of the prominent students of Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri. He took his Doctorate on the Thesis *Theories of Rasa and Dhvani.* After working for the Madras Sanskrit College for some time, he joined the Madras Educational Service, and from the position of a Lecturer, rose to that of Professor of Sanskrit at the Presidency College, Madras, then Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras and then Principal, Government College, Kumbhakonam. He had also made special study of Śāstras with different Pandits at Madras and Tirupati. After retirement, he became Professor of Sanskrit at the Vivekananda College, Madras, and later, joined the Sanskrit Dictionary work at the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. He was also associated with the Madras Samskrit Academy, the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute and the Journal of Oriental Research.

### *D. D. Kosambi*

D. D. Kosambi who passed away at Poona on June 29, 1966 was Professor of Mathematics, but being the son of the well known Dharmananda Kosambi, became deeply interested also in Sanskrit and Indology. His two important contributions to Sanskrit are the critical editions of the *Subhāṣitas* of Bhartṛhari and the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* (*H.O.S.*). He was a

Life Member of the K. S. R. Institute, and a contributor to the *Journal of Oriental Research*. He was a Marxist and wrote several articles and interpretations of Indian History and Hindu myths from this point of view.

*T. A. Venkatesvara Dikshitar*

The world of traditional Sanskrit scholarship and the activities of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan particularly sustained great loss in the death on August 13, 1966 of Sri T. A. Venkatesvara Dikshitar at the age of 72. Sri Dikshitar was a specialist in Krsna Yajurveda, Śrauta, Mimamsa and Advaita. After working for a time in Tirupati, he joined the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, where for twenty-five years, with the encouragement of Sjt. K. M. Munshi, he worked most devotedly for the Samskrita Visva Parishad. He was an impressive speaker in Samskrit. During all this period he was also Principal of the Mumbadevi Samskrita Mahavidyalaya, conducted by the Bhavan. In addition to all this, Sri Dikshitar built up the Sankara Math at Matunga and incessantly carried on the work of propagating *Hindu dharma* and *vedānta* through the Math. Before his demise he received the President's certificate of merit awarded annually to destinguished Pandits.

*K. S. Ramasubba Sastrigal*

The late Ramasubba Sastrigal was the foremost *Vaiyākaraṇa* of the South. A student of Mm. Dandapani-svami Diksitar at Chidambaram, he served in the Ramesvaram Devesthanam Sanskrit College at Madurai and the Minakshi Oriental College at Chidambaram, and after retirement was Principal of the R. M. S. Pathasala at Chidambaram. In the last years, he moved to Madras, and when the Sanskrit Education Society was set up at Pettai near Madras, he was put in charge of the Centre and was entrusted with the task of training young Pandits in Vyakarana and of compiling the Concordance of Verbal Derivatives called *Kṛdantarūpamālā* undertaken by the Society. His death was a great loss to the Sanskrit Education Society.

Sri Sastrigal had attended several Pandita Parishads and received honours including the title *Śāstraratnākara* from His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pthai.

*Śāstra Ratnākara, Paṇḍitarāja,*
*Polaham S. Srirama Sastrigal* (1895-1967)

The death of Polaham Srirama Sastrigal leaves in the field of South Indian advaitic scholarship a void hard to fill. At the time of his sudden demise, he was Professor for Advance Study and Research under a grant of the Central Sanskrit Board, attached to the Madras Sanskrit College, where he had been Professor of Advaita for twenty three years. Before joining the above College, he was a leading Pandit of the Advaita Sabha and the Jambukeswaram Centre of Advaita established by H. H. Sri Sankaracharya Swamigal of Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha. He was the son of Sri Sundaresa Sastrigal and a student of Mm. Harihara Sastrigal, pupil of Mm. Mannargudi Raju Sastrigal.

Among Pandits, he had a remarkable flair for fresh investigations and research, and took a delight in looking up new works. His oral expositions were lively, spirited and full of points. A keen debator, he was a true descendant of the traditional line of dialecticians. Apart from teaching and taking part in *Vākyārthas* in assemblages, he wrote some noteworthy works: *Cāturmātasāmarasya* (Kumbakonam 1944; Madras 1957), in which following the line of Appayya Dīkṣita, he set forth the points of contact among the three well-known Schools of Vedānta and the not so well-known one of Śrīkaṇṭha. In his *Dramiḍātreyadarśana* (Madras 1957) he collects the fifty citations from Ātreya Brahmanandin and Dramiḍācārya in the Bhāṣyas of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja and shows that these two were followers of Advaita and not of any other mode of thought.

For the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library he edited singly and in collaboration with other colleagues :

The *Brahmasūtravṛtti—Mitākṣarā* of Annam Bhaṭṭa (1950); the *Pātañjalayogsūtra-vivarana* ascribed to Śaṅkara (1952), the *Ābhoga* of Lakṣmīnṛsiṁha on the *Kalpataru* (1955), The *Pañcapādikā* and *Vivaraṇa* with two hitherto unpublished commentaries on each (1958).

Formerly, at the beginning of his scholarly career, he had assisted the Śaivaite organisations in the South in their Śaiva Sanskrit publications : *Aghoraśivācāryapaddhati* (Chidambaram 1927); *Śaivasannyāsapaddhati* (Kumbakonam, 1932) etc.

Sastrigal had also literary gifts which he exhibited even in his teens and a collection of his hyms on Naṭarāja and Śivakāmasundarī at Chidambaram was published by him in 1963. Other hymns and a play too were written by him but could not be recovered.

He had also composed a metrical resume of the Upaniṣads and quite recently he had prepared some fresh studies on Advaita including a critique of the Mūlāvidyā-nirāsa of Subrahmanya Sarma (Saccidananda Sarasvati); it would be appropriote if the late Sastrigal's friends, admirers and patrons bring out these unpublished writings of his.

Staunch loyalty marked Sastrigal's career and life and apart from his devotion to his studies, he never went about too much seeking anything by way of publicity, honour or monetary gain. It is but fitting that a *paṇḍita* who thus revelled in that happiness of an *akāma-hata śrotriya* became the recipient of the special grace and blessing of our Ācārya of Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi pīṭha.

*Dr. N. N. Law*

The death of Dr. Narendranath Law, Founder-Editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* is a great loss to Indology. Among the works of Dr. Law are:

Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity (based on the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya) Vol. I (1914). Promotion of Learning in India by early European Settlers (upto about about 1800 A.D.) (1915). Promotion of Learning in India during Mohammedan Rule (1916). Inter-State relation in Ancient India—Part I (1920). Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity (1921). Studies in Indian History and Culture (1925). Life of Mm. H. P. Sastri (1932). Sri Kṛṣna and Sri Caitanya (1949). Age of Ṛgveda (1965).

Above all, by founding the *Indian Historical Quarterly* in 1925 and running it successfully since then, he had provided a forum for the promotion and publication of research in Indology for which the whole world of Indological scholars will remain grateful to him.

*Dr. Horace Isaac Poleman.*

(Sept. 5, 1905-Nov. 8, 1965) It is with regret that we record here the death at the age of 60 of Dr. Poleman who was for a long time the Chief of the Oriental Section of the Library of Congress, Washington. He

graduated with Master and Doctorate degrees in Indic studies with Prof. Norman Brown from the University of Pennsylvania. He had made several visits to India and was also for a time, cultural Attache to the American Embassy, New Delhi. His chief work is the *Census of India Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.*

*Prof. Mario Vallauri* (1887-1964)

Prof. Vallauri's death removes from the field of Sanskrit studies in Italy a prolific contributor to classical Sanskrit. He was Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Turin. He interested himself in Indian Medicine, Indian Polity, *Purāṇa, Nīti,* and in translation into Italian of Sanskrit poems and plays. In the last mentioned field he produced also the volume *Teatro Indiano.*

*Prof. Louis Renou*

Prof. Renou, who was 70 at the time of death, was one of the distinguished pupils of the celebrated Sanskritist and Buddhologist, Prof. Sylvain Levi. To honour him for his long carrer and varied contributions, Renou's students, friends and admirers had been getting up a Volume of studies but unfortunately this has now to be published as a Volume *In Memoriam.*

Prof. Renou had been in India twice and during his first visit he toured extensively here, visiting almost all centres of Sanskrit studies and lecturing there. In Madras, he lectured at the University, the Presidency College, the Adyar Library (*The Influence of Indian Thought on French Literature*, Adayar Library Bulletin, (XII, XIII, 1948-49) and the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute. *Vedic Study, Its History and future,* one of his lectures in India was published in the Institute's *Jaurnal of Oriental Research,* Vol. XIII pp. 6-83. While in India, he did special work for the New Sanskrit Dictionary of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, and promoted the project by meeting Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on its behalf.

Prof. Renou who had been Director of the Ecole de Hautes Etudes, Professor at the College d' France and later Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Civilization at Sorbonne was prolific in his writings. In 1953, when I visited him at his home and saw him at work in his large personal library, he had already published 31 books and 92 papers. He was one

of the leading authorities on Veda in recent times and in this field in which he began his researches with the Doctoral dissertation on the use and significance of Perfect-forms in the Vedic, (1925), he later produced a chain of works : Vedic Philology (1928), Vedic Bibliography (1931), a Grammar of the Vedic language (1952), Studies of Vedic Vocabulary (1958), Studies in Vedic Schools and the formation of the Veda, an Index of rare Vedic Words (1934-35), several volumes of Vedic studies, papers in which he discussed several individual Vedic Words and their meanings, and also more than one Volume of Vedic hymns with translation and notes, the last of this kind being the one for the Unesco collection of Representative Works. In a paper of his published in India (*Siddha-bhāratī* II, pp. 214-221) he collected the information on Vedic Śakhās as known from epigraphy and the country-wide distribution of Vedic families. Apart from what he wrote on Vedic Grammar, on Pāṇini and classic Sanskrit grammar, he produced a 2-Volume grammar of Sanskrit, a book on the Grammar of Pāṇini following the Kāśikā and Bhāṣāvṛtti, a 3-Volume translation of Durghaṭa-vṛtti with a history of Sanskrit grammatical literature, several studies on Pāṇini and Veda, and a Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammatical Terminology in 3 Volumes (1957). In the last stages of the Altindische Grammatik, he was assisting in the printing of the volumes. He compiled also a French-Sanskrit Dictionary (1931-32).

In Religion and Philosophy, he made a collection of texts of Hinduism and its doctrines and history (1951), delivered the Jordan lectures at the S.O.A.S., London University in 1953 on the Religions of Ancient India, and brought out a volume of the Upaniṣads with French version (1943-56).

Renou's interest was not confined to linguistic analysis only ; he was a keen student of the literary, rhetorical and semantic aspects, of the Sanskrit language and even in his History of Sanskrit language (1956), he devoted attention to the many-sided development of this language in the Veda, the Epic, the classical Kāvya and in Buddhism and Jainism. Having translated into French classical poems like *Raghuvaṁśa* (1927) *and Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* (1929), and compiled an Anthology of Sanskrit with translation (1947), he became thoroughly familiar with the structure of the Sanskrit poetic diction which he dealt with later in a separate paper ; and in

*Diogenes* Number 29, Spring 1960, he traced the interesting and intriguing role of paronomasia and enigma in the language of the Kāvya and showed how this supra-semantics of Sanskrit was not only as old as the Veda but had its extensions into philosophy and *tantra*. In 1946, he brought out jointly a French version of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. To the reprint of his Guru Levi's Sanskrit Theatre, he added an essay surveying researches in Sanskrit drama since 1890 (an English version of which has recently been published in Madras by the Samskrita Ranga); similarly a survey of his Vedic studies, ('Destiny of Veda' in English version) has also been recently published. He also contributed his share to the joint compilation by French Indologists called *L'Inde Classique*.

These books and papers do not exhaust the writings of Renou. He was also doing the lion's share of reviewing of Sanskrit publications in the pages of the *Journal Asiatique*. Renou's reviews, while they did full justice to the books, were uniformly helpful to Indian scholars and appreciative of Indian work. In fact, in a paper on the future role of Sanskrit which he contributed to the *Adyar Library Bulletin* (XIII. iii. 1949), he mentioned the handicaps of foreign scholars and expressed his conviction that in the field of Sanskrit research in which European Indologists had pioneered, "the task of taking up the lead" now belonged evidently to India. For the foreign research scholar, he considered that a knowledge of the living India was a necessity; because as he emphasised in *Diogenes* (Number 2, 1953) Indology, unlike Egyptology and Assyriology, was "a living subject-matter" and "a knowledge of the living India gives research a resonance which it could never attain in the study of dead civilizations"; he pointed out here that Indology embodied "an un-interrupted tradition of language and thought, probably the longest which history records", and in concluding his paper on the future of Sanskrit mentioned above, he said that while he would not like to enter the field of language controversy, he would insist on the fact that if Sanskrit disappeared, the risk was that the great Indian tradition would be lost for ever.

Renou had taught a large number of students, French and Indian, all of whom are doing good work. He spent a brief period in U.S. and was for a time head of the Maison Franco-Japonaise in Tokyo. In him qualities of head and heart were

both abundant and well-balanced. His demise will be mourned widely, in all the centres of Sanskrit study in this country. The Inter-University Board recently set up a Committee to examine the question of making available in English and Hindi the contributions in French and German on Sanskrit and allied fields. There can be no better tribute to Renou's contribution to Sanskrit studies than the translation of his writings which have not so far appeared in English and making them more widely known in India.

*Prof. Charles A. Moore, Hawaii*

We are sorry to receive the news from the University of Hawaii, Department of Philosophy, that Prof. Charles Moore who was well known for his pioneering work in the East-West dialogue among philosophers, passed away in his home in Honolulu on April 14th 1967. He was for many years the Senior Professor of Philosophy at the University of Hawaii. He was the life and soul of the East-West Centre and its philosophical studies and the Journal devoted to them. Along with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan he also brought out a comprehensive Volume of Source-Texts for the study of the different schools of Indian Philosophy.

*Mm. Dr. Umesh Mishra*

On September 7th 1967, Mm. Dr. Umesh Mishra passed away at Allahabad at the age of 73. Dr. Umesh Mishra was the son of a great Naiyāyika of Mithila, Mm. Jayakanta Mishra under whom the late Mm. Dr. Ganga Nath Jha studied. Dr. Mishra was also a student of Nyāya, besides other systems of philosophy, and was the author of a treatise on *Matter* as conceived in the different systems. He had also recently brought out one Volume of his projected History of Indian philosophy in several Volumes. Dr. Umesh Mishra spent the greater part of his time in the Sanskrit Department of the Allahabad University. For a time he was also connected with the newly established Mithila Institute of Sanskrit Studies at Darbhanga. After retirement he was also for some time the Vice-Chancellor of the newly founded Sanskrit University at Darbhanga. The most important work and achievement of Dr. Umesh Mishra was the establishment at Allahabad of an Indological Research Institute named after Dr. Ganga Nath Jha under whom most of the Sanskritists of Bihar and U. P. had studied and under whose auspices, he built up a Manuscripts Library and started publishing a Journal of Research. It is

hoped that the work of this Intitute will be carried on without any break.

*Mm. Mathura Prasad Dixit*

The distinguisehd Pandit and leading original writer in Sanskrit, Mm. M. P. Dixit passed away at the ripe old age of Ninety-two at Varanasi. Among his thirty works are several plays on historical and nationalistic themes.

*Agnihotram Tata Desika Tatacharya*

The passing away on 30-10-67 of Sri Tata Desika Tatacharya at Kumbhakonam is a great loss to the Vedic tradition and to the propagation of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda in particular in South India. He was a nitya-agnihotrin and had trained hundreds of Vedic students including his son Ramanuja Tatachariar, well-known lecturer on the Vedas. He was the recepient of the President of India's Certificate for distinguished Sanskrit Pandits.

*M. Venkataramayya*

by Vedam Venkataraya Sastry

A career of much promise was cut short by the premature demise, at the age of 54, of M. Venkataramayya, M.A., M.LITT., Archaeological Superintendent (at Bhopal at the time of demise). Educated at the Madras Christian College he took his M.A. in 1934 after a brilliant career and joined the department of Indian History and Archaeology of the Madras University as a research scholar. He was well up in Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil and took for his subject the history of the Telugu Cholas of Renadu (ancient name for a part of modern Cuddapah district). He did excellent work on the inscriptions in the Mackenzie collection by studying them *in situ* by visiting many parts of the Andhra. Later he joined the Archaeological department and served as Superintendent in many parts of India making rare and valuable additions to the different museums. He made a contribution to the history of South India, especially to Andhra by his articles on the Historical Geography of certain places. He was a frequent contributor to the pages of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras. His thesis on the Telugu Cholas and many of his writings are yet to see the light of day and any arrangements made for their publication will serve the cause of the study of South Indian History.

Other members of the Institute whose loss the Institute deeply mourns are Prof. *Vissa Appa Rao* and Sri *K. S. Narayana Ayyangar.*

*Sri T. K. Rajagopala Iyer*, Retd. Accountant General who was a member of the Institute and was also on its General Body for some time passed away on Aug. 27, 1966. He was proficient in Ṣākta and Yoga mārgas, and in *Gaṇapati Upāsanā.* He was also interested in the Research in the music of *Sāma Veda.* He brought out a volume of Gaṇeśa Stotras from the *Mudgala Purāṇa* with Tamil translation.

We are also deeply grieved to record the passing away on June 4, 1967 of Sri *T. M. Krishnaswami Iyer,* another Life Member of the Institute. He was an eminent Advocate of the Madras High Court who was also for several years the Chief Justice in the State of Travancore. To him, Tamil Nad owes to a great measure the great popularity and vogue of the singing of the *Tiruppugazh* songs of Aruṇagirināthar, through Bhajans which he had organised and himself conducted at various Kumāra-shrines in South India.

## BOOK-REVIEWS

Śilpa Prakasa. By Alice Boner and Pt. Sadasiva Ratha Sarma. E. J. Brill, Leiden.

The book under review is the most outstanding of the publications that have come out in recent times in the field of Hindu Temple architecture. It is the second work of the author, the Swiss sculptor devoted to Hindu Sādhana and traditional art, Miss Alice Boner whose work *Principles of Composition in Hindu Sculpture* was noticed by the undersigned in the *Hindu* on the eve of the Kanchi-Session of the Āgama-Śilpa Sadas. In that work of hers, the author had presented the results of her search and study of the principles of composition of bas-relief sculptures of Cave temples of Western and Southern India of the 6th—9th centuries A.D. It is this search for the underlying plan of Hindu Śilpa, of its temples as well as sculptures, that led her to Orissa where a continuing tradition of the art could still be seen. That Orissa provided such materials for study of the construction of the temples and their rich decorations and images was realised long ago. Manmohan Ganguly, an Engineer by profession, was the first to study the temples of Orissa from the structural point of view in his *Orissa and Her Remains* (Calcutta, 1912); already in this poineering work, drawings of Vimānas, their parts, and their measurements, with reference to sevaral well-known Orissa temples were given and in addition to his own knowledge of structural analysis, the author utilised the information gathered from living *Śilpins*, and disclosed the prevalence of a number of local technical-terms in Sanskrit, half Sanskrit and Oriya. The next land-mark in the detailed study of the temples of Orissa was the *Canons of Orissan Architecture* by Nirmal Kumar Bose (Calcutta, 1932). In addition to a number of drawings and photographs of the temples and parts of their structure, the glossary of Orissan architectural terminology given by Bose was fuller; the most important fact in his study, which is relevant to the work under review is that Bose based his work on an Orissan Śilpa treatise called *Bhuvanapradīpa* ascribed to Viśva-karman; it not only dealt with Orissan temples but also actually mentioned a local artist and chief architect *Śilpin* and

*Sūtradhāra.* In the end Bose also attempted at presenting a restored text of the *Bhuvanapradīpa.*

The *Śilpa Prakāśa* now offered by Miss Boner and her colloborator, Pt. Sadasiva Ratha Sarma of the Raghunandan Library, Puri, takes the study of the art of Orissan temple-building several steps forward. While on her search for the materials and methods which the *Śilpins* and *Sthapatis* had, to serve as the basis and plan of their work, Miss Boner came upon, ten years ago, the first ms. of the *Śilpa Prakāśa* in the mss. library mentioned above. During the tour of the Sanskrit Commission and the Bhuvanesvar Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, the undersigned had opportunities to examine this and other rare Śilpa mss. of Orissa, in which, apart from the Sanskrit texts, the palm-leaves carried a number of etchings and drawings with the stylus, illustrating the parts and motifs of the temple-structures; and in the Presidential Address to the Srinagar Session of the above Conference, the undersigned had occasion to draw the attention of the scholarly world to the importance of these unique Orissan Śilpa Śāstra mss. At the Delhi Session of the International Congress of Orientalists in 1964, scholars could not only see these mss. from Orissa exhibited, but also discuss their special features at the meetings. It is a matter for gratification that the ten years work of Miss Boner had taken a concrete form and she and Pt. Sadasiva Rath Sarma are to be congratulated on this excellent publication which comprises an Introduction, English translation, glossary of technical terms, drawings and illustrative photographs, and an edition in Devanāgarī script of the Sanskrit text of the *Śilpa Prakāśa.*

The authenticity of the *Śilpa Prakāśa* need not be doubted; four mss. of it were found, in different places and different styles of writing. Its Sanskrit, which is defective as in Śilpa texts from different parts of India, has kinship with the *Bhuvanapradīpa* of Bose and its technical terminology is suthenticated by the other texts of this region and by local usage. In fact, this work which was, on the available evidence, produced about the 12th cent. A.D., has been in vogue among Śilpins as its dated copies show and to this day Śilpins of Orissa remember by heart verses from the *Śilpa Prakāśa.* The author is an authority on Śilpa or an actual builder, Rāmacandra, an Atharvavedin Brahman of the Udgata family, who wrote under the direction of the Śilpin Mādhava Bhaṭṭa

and for the King Vīravarman of Airāvatamaṇḍala. The Sanskrit text presented in Devanāgarī script at the end of the volume is a composite text, based on the ms. from Manjusa in Andhra carrying a number of drawings and illustrations, with the additional lines in two other mss. incorporated in smaller script.

What is the speciality of the *Śilpa Prakāśa*? It is not only a historically placeable text but it has the unique significance of being a specific text on a type of Tāntrik temple, and the method of its construction; and what is more, one of the mss. is accompanied by illustrative drawings without which the English translation or the proper understanding of the text and correlation of its descriptions and directions with what is actually found on the temples would not have been easy. From the special point of view of Miss Boner, this text furnishes details and drawings of the plans or *Yantras* as they are called, of the architectural parts and the figures to be sculptured. The temple which answers to the account in this text has been successfully identified as the Vārāhī temple of Caurasi near Kakatpur, illustrating also the type designated as the *Rekhā*-temple, with a single straight-lined *Śikhara*.

There are three parts to the contents of this text: First the esoteric and other symbolic significances, then the structural parts and then the ornamentation by themes and designs. In the first is to be noted the *Nāgabandha*, the conception of a Serpent underlying the *Vāstu* or site, which changed its position periodically and with reference to which the portal should be fixed. The second is the *Yoginī-yantra* composed of five triangles to be established at the base of the *sanctum sanctorum*. The *Śilpra Prakāśa* is based on Tāntrik beliefs, including the one that Lord Jagannātha of Puri represented really the form of Śakti known as Dakṣiṇa Kālikā for which the local tradition seeks the authority of Śaṅkarācārya. In the second set of topics—the parts of the structure-the following are dealt with: portal and its protectors (Dvārapālas) and Bhairava and Lakṣmī to be carved at the portals; the plinth (*pīṭha*), and the doing of the lower part with its five portions (*pañca-karma*), the *Mukhaśālā* and its parts, the roof and the parts above including the *Kumbhas*. In Chapter two, nine different types of temples are first described and then the detailed treatment of the

*Śikhara* and its elements is taken up. The text then reverts to the plinth and its measurements, the different working of the base (*pañcakarma*) in a *Padmagarbha* (Śiva) temple and the *Kāmagarbha* (Śakti) temple, the roof and the details of the upper part of the *Vimāna* upto the *Kalaśa*. The last subject dealt with is Images and their measurements.

Orissan temples display on the outside an exuberant wealth of carving. These ornamental additions comprise creeper and flower designs, animal figures, and themes with human figures. In the animal group, it may be noted, the hybrid varieties in which fanciful combinations of parts of more than one animal are made, are given in our text the interesting name *Kautūhala*. In the human group, *Rājabandha*, sports and other activities of kings, different kinds of *Nāyikās* and ladies in diverse poses and activities, and the teacher-students panel called *Śikṣādāna* are described. The types of feminine figures include traditional Nāyikā-varieties of poetics, dance poses, activities like holding the branch-end of a tree (*Sāla-bhañjikā* called here *Dalamālikā*), inhaling a lotus, looking at a mirror, playing with parrot etc.; the rough and ready-made Sanskrit names of these varieties are an interesting study.

On a theme prominent in Orissa temples, the erotic, one legitimately expects some light from this text. The matter is no doubt referred to. There is a special section eulogising *Kāma*, emphasising the need to inlay the *Kāmakalā-yantra* in a part of the temple, and leading up to the adoration of Śiva and Śakti as Kāmakaleśvara and Kāmakaleśvarī. It is said here that images depicting *Kāma* theme should be shown. Elsewhere the text says that these images should not show the last acts of *Kāma*, although the interdiction has been observed more in the breach. The editor and translator points out in her Introduction (p. xix) that the *mithuna-mūrtis* of the Vārāhī temple are textual illustrations of *vīra-pūjā* ritual as dealt with in an unpublished tāntrik text called *Kaulacuḍāmaṇi*, different from the well known printed text of that name. Perhaps when the study of this rare work, which is reported to be going on, is completed, we may have some fresh light on this subject.

The value of any work on Śilpa depends on its illustrations. In the present case, we have a special section of 72 illustrations in which the palm-leaf etchings of the plans and

parts of the temple and different designs and images are juxtaposed with corresponding photographs from the actual temple structures. In addition to these, the English translation is also provided with line-drawings of *Yantras* and figures. While N.K. Bose's work gave only 141 terms, the glossary of architectural terms given in this work has over 300, and here again, 82 drawings are given.

With reference to painting, the word in the text I.9, *nānā-rasa* is translated as 'variety of *flavours*'; 'rasa' here, as the undersigned shown elsewhere when explaining the term *rasa-citra*, means *colour-solutions*.

At the end of Ch. 1, the *Śilpa Prakāśa* refers to one of its sources and authorities as the *Saudhikāgama*; luckily a ms. of this larger and more important work has been found and when Miss Boner and Pt. Sarma complete their projected edition and study of the *Saudhikāgama*, our debt of gratitude to these two would indeed be immeasurable.

E. J. Brill, leading Dutch Oriental publishers, have done an excellent piece of work in the printing and production of this volume.

V. RAGHAVAN

LIGHT ON EARLY INDIAN SOCIETY & ECONOMY. By Ram Sharan Sharma, Head of the Department of History, Patna University, P.C. Manaktala & Sons, 6, Fair Field, Church Gate, Bombay 1, 1966. Rs. 22.50.

Dr. Sharma has already given us studies on some of the neglected aspects of Ancient India, e.g. Sudras in Ancient India. Continuing in the same line, he has from time to time, been drawing attention to and publishing papers on what he calls in the last chapter in this volume 'gaps in the non-political history of Northern India.' The present volume is a collection of twelve such papers which the author wrote at different times. Some of these are very short, chapter V entitled Slavery in Ancient India being a Review in about four pages. As the author himself says, he has raised questions which interested scholars may take and work upon. Attention may be drawn to chapters VII to XI which deal with the stages in Ancient Indian economy, irrigation in the period 200 B.C.—200 A.D., land marks in early Indian economic history and usury in the period 400-1200 A.D.

The book is very well printed but the price is high for a collection of about 160 pages.

V. RAGHAVAN

THE GREAT INTEGRATORS: THE SAINT-SINGERS OF INDIA : Patel Memorial Lectures for 1964 by Dr. V. Raghavan. Price Rs. 2.25. Publications Division, Govt. of India, Delhi.

National Integration is the urgent need of the hour, in this country. The greatest heritage of the sages of India has been the *two unities* i.e., the *spiritual* and *moral outlook*, which are cracking now under the impact of western scientific materialism and human wickedness, cussedness and loss of faith in the spiritual and moral verities. To stave off the forces of fast disintegration an all-out effort is being made at all levels, political, economical, social, educational and cultural.

The unity of India has for its roots the vision of the classical poets, the contemplative seers, and above all the Saint-singers of India. It is the last that have sought with great success to bring about psychological integration through their devotional compositions. Dr. Raghavan's *Patel Lectures*, the ninth in the series is the splendid account, assessment and evaluation of the contribution of the saint-singers to spiritual integration. He has already shown how Tyāgarāja achieved this end, in his learned and elaborate Introductory Thesis to the volume of the songs of Tyāgarāja. In this volume, he goes over the entire, amazing and wide range of all the singer-mystics of India in all the regions, leaving none of any importance.

In the history of Indian philosophy and religion there are two distinct trends set forth, that of the *acharyas* and that of *singer-saints*. The saints wrote in the regional language and popularised the doctrines of the systems to the community at large without any distinction of caste, creed, sex, status or age. They set their songs of devotion to music and hit two birds at one shot i.e., developed the grand heritage of Indian music and the rich store house of devotional literature. In their songs they exposed the foibles of the hypocrite in religion, the pride of the learned and purse-mad and humanised religion and made morality and social justice the bed-rock of religion. They, making character the touch-stone of religion, have

debunked all forms of conceit, deceit, cant, pose and all hypocritical pranks that masquerade as religion. The reader has only to refer to the rich anthology in the book under review to be convinced and educated by the sample songs. The saint-singers have wrought a revolution in the lives of men, added sweetness, and raised the stature of man's and community's moral life.

Dr. V. Raghavan with his massive erudition and knowledge of many literatures, has presented the thesis of spiritual integration along with the anthology which illustrates the points he high-lights in an admirable way. The learned author explains the religious and philosophical importance of the songs, their relation to music and their significance for Art. The author high-lights *seven* important common features in the saint-singers i.e., the importance of the Divine Name, *Nāma-māhātmya*, the necessity for *guru*, the supremacy of *Bhakti* as the universal democratic doctrine and mode of God-realisation, the repeated classification of the types of *bhakti*, the reformist zeal and their crusading spirit, the denunciation of sham and cant, the catholicity of outlook and the sense of the unity of all paths, and above the prevailing "advaitic tone and preference for monism and ultimate unity". The last point may not be acceptable to all shades of thinkers. To summarise the book is not to appreciate it. Reading the book is spiritual education and a rich, rewarding experience. The second part of the book is the concise anthology of the songs of the saints drawn from all the parts of India. The anthology and the text of the lectures go well together to produce in the reader a sense of completion. The book is a valuable and notable contribution to the devotional literature of India in the English language.

P. NAGARAJA RAO

MM. MIRASHI FELICITATION VOLUME. Edited by G. T. Deshpande, Ajoy Mitra Shastri and V. W. Karambelkar. Published by Vidarbha Samsodhan Mandal, Nagpur, 1965. Rs. 40.

It is in the fitness of things that the Vidharbha Samsodhan Mandal, Nagpur, grown under the parental care of Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. V. V. Mirashi has published this Felicitation Volume in his honour. A Sanskritist, epigraphist and historian, Prof. Mirashi has edited a number of Sanskrit inscrpi

tions and made varied contributions to Indian History in the pre-Muhammadan period, and the reconstruction of the history of the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha and Kalacuris of Tripuri. He has also dealt with problems bearing on Sanskrit and Prākṛt literature, especially with different aspects of Kālidāsa's writings. He is also prominently associated with the identification of Ramtek near Nagpur with the Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. During his literary career, Dr. Mirashi has contributed nearly 200 research papers in English and about 120 in Marathi.

*'Studies in Indology'* (in three volumes) (English) and *Samsodhan Muktavali* (in four volumes) (Marathi) present most of his papers collectively.

In part I of this Felicitation Volume, appreciation of Prof. Mirashi by different scholars and a bibliography of his writings are given. Part II is a collection of forty-two Indological essays covering all aspects of Indian culture, literature and history.

In the 458 pages of research papers presented in this Volume some go over old material, for example, 'Vedic legend of Cyavana and Sukanyā', 'Pañcamahāśabda', 'Fables in the Mahābhārata', and 'Theatre of Bharata'. Some of the papers, though short, offer new findings. V. Raghavan points out that Abhinavagupta's reference to Kālidāsa in the second Uddyota of his *Dhvanyāloka-Locana* in the context of Yamaka is to the *Ghaṭakarpara kāvya*. R. N. Dandekar's 'Vena Sūkta of the Atharva Veda' and H. D. Velankar's 'Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha in the Ṛg Veda' offer new interpretations. S. L. Katre's 'Kīrticandrodayakāvya', A. N. Upadhye's 'On the two recensions of Kuvalayamālā' and V. G. Rahurkar's 'Bhāṣā Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī' are important from the view-point of textual study and criticism. R. V. Joshi's 'Treatment of Fallacy in India Logic' and V. S. Agrawala's 'Puruṣasūkta' may be mentioned in philosophy and religion. In history and epigraphy and in Mirashi's own field, there are papers like 'The identification of Vaṅga and Vāhlika in the Meherauli Pillar Inscription', 'A new approach to Kalacuri-Rāṣṭrakūṭa Relations' and 'The Navasāhasāṅkacarita-Itithāsa under the shadow of a symbolist'.

The Volume is a fittting tribute to Dr. Mirashi's monumental contribution to Indological Studies.

S. S. JANAKI

SUMMARIES OF INSCRIPTIONS (1943-44 to 1949-50). General Editor: Dr. P. B. Desai. Prepared by Dr. B. R. Gopal and Dr. Srinivas Ritti. Published by Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1966. Price Rs. 3-50.

The Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar was started in the year 1939 to carry on and promote research in Kannada Language, Literature and Karnatak History. The Institute has made a good collection of Kannada manuscripts of which some Volumes of Descriptive Catalogues have already been published. Besides it has copied over 1000 inscriptions pertaining to different dynasties that ruled in Kannada areas. Summaries of 357 inscriptions copied by them between the years 1939-40 and 1941-43 were already brought to light.

The volume under review contains summaries in English of 325 inscriptions copied by the Institute during the years 1943-44 to 1949-50. Most of them represent sixteen different dynasties that ruled over Karnataka from the 7th century onwards. Material regarding these inscriptions is furnished under four columns, i.e. Find-spot, King, Date and Remarks. Under the head "Find-spot", actual location of the inscription is indicated by mentioning the State, District and the Taluk to which it belongs. Under "Remarks", the contents of the Inscription are given in brief. Besides giving the extent and the condition of these inscriptions, indication as regards the language and script in which they are written is also given. Though most of the inscriptions summarised herein are written in Kannada language, attention may be drawn to some of them which are written either in Sanskrit, Prākṛt or Marathi and some in mixed languages. No. 1 and No. 34 of 1943-44 are written in Brāhmī Characters and Prākṛt Language. No. 2 of 1943-44 gives the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas in Sanskrit. No. 11 of 1943-44 is a record in Sanskrit which was formerly composed (?) by Nāgavarma. No. 40 and No. 41 of 1943-44 are also written in Sanskrit and names of two sculptors Sohila, a brahmacārin and Nāgavarma are recorded. No. 52 of 1945-46 mentions another sculptor by name Chaṇḍoja.

Though most of these inscriptions record the various kinds of gifts and grants, some of them contain matter of historical value as they give genealogical accounts of the

Rāshtrakūṭas, of Singhana, Pāṇḍyadeva etc. No. 24 of 1948-49 contains a description of Banavasi country. Even the summaries, as they are, give us an idea of the light thrown by these inscriptions on the political, social and religious history of Karnataka country.

Reference to an already published inscription is given. The introduction dealing with the important historical matter culled out from these inscriptions is of use to the research workers in that field. The value of this volume is enhanced by the inclusion therein of Topographical Index, Dynastic Index and a List of Plates of four famous Inscriptions.

An Index to important words and names occurring in these inscriptions could have been added. We hope the next Volume in this Series under preparation will contain such an Index.

N. R. SUBBANNA

INDIAN POLITICAL ASSOCIATION AND REFORM OF LEGISLATURE (1818-1917). By Bimanbehari Majumdar. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1965; pp x+477; Rs. 25.

Dr B. B. Majumdar, the distinguished teacher of political science, has offered a new work on the history of Indian politics in the nineteenth century, which is the fruit of his painstaking research for 30 years, from 1934 to 1965. The aim of the book is to "trace the origin and development of public life in India with special reference to the growth of political associations in the period before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi and also to examine the influence of these bodies on the development of the constitution of India." Dr. Majumdar's survey is refreshingly factual and his coverage extensive, including as it does even the minor associations in India and also those in England dedicated to the Indian cause. The book is packed with details of public life in India during those days; the work of the earlier political associations is treated adequately and assessed fairly for the first time. The book thus provides a timely corrective to the numerous accounts of Indian nationalism which are almost exclusively preoccupied with the Gandhian era. A careful reader can learn from it that even the Gandhian re-orientation of Indian

politics presupposed the historically preparatory work of the formative period as well as the constitutionally educative reform of the legislature from 1861 to 1917.

Although Dr. Majumdar is able to generalize in the preface that "no imperial power has ever conceded any right of self-government to a dependency simply out of benevolent and humanitarian considerations", historians of Indian nationalism are, by judicial standards, yet to prove that British statesmanship did not aim at Indian self-government ultimately. Such generalization, moreover, is not sufficiently non-partisan to concede that the right to self-government could as well be withheld on benevolent and humanitarian grounds. But to question an exceptional generalization of the author is not to deny the real merits of the book; indeed his comments and criticisms are judicious and balanced throughout. He is much too academic not to perceive that "it would be wrong to ascribe all the success to political movements only. Had not the two world wars occurred, the Morley-Minto scheme and the provincial part of the Act of 1935 would have enjoyed a much longer life". Students of modern Indian History would be grateful to Dr. Majumdar for this book and look forward to further contributions from his learned pen.

BALACHANDRAN.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF NORTHERN INDIA (*C.* 700-1200 A.D.) by Dr. Lallanji Gopal. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, 1965. Rs. 15.

Dr. Gopal has made a significant contribution to the literature on Economic History of medieval India by this peice of research embodied in "The Economic Life of Northern India *C.* 700-1200 A.D.." This is the published version of Dr. Gopal's doctoral dissertation at the University of London in 1962. Dr. Gopal feels that the five centuries of economic history he has investigated are a crucial period in Indian history for it links ancient to medieval India, and he deplores the neglect it has suffered at the hands of historians who consider Harsha as the last great 'Hindu-Buddhist' Emperor. Royal ownership of all land, the quasi-feudal manorial System which prevailed in early medieval India, the institutions of slavery,

the details of the revenue system, communications and transport, foreign trade and shipping, money-lending and coinage are some of the economic institutions he has studied in this very useful and well-written book. The last chapter which deals with the periodisation of Indian History, at the outset, seems to be irrelevant to the main thesis but the author manages to make it appear relevant by suggesting a new model of periodisation based on the evolution of social institutions. What Dr. Appadorai has done for the economic history of South India, Dr. Gopal has now done to Northern India; and when regional economic histories covering specific periods are all written as satisfactorily as Dr. Gopal's thesis has been, then it will be opportune for the economic history of India to be attempted.

The light which the author has thrown on the institutions of slavery in medieval India illumines a vast area of our social history and dispels many illusions. The short chapter on this subject shows that slave girls were a regular institution and there was no known provision for their manumission : "The condition of a slave was bad"; "People in general do not seem to have felt any sympathy for the miseries of a slave"; "torture and beating were the usual fate of a slave" etc. are statements which must qualify the pious and pleasant fiction in most of our text books about the mildness of the Indian system of slavery.

The author's interpretation of 'Turushka Daṇḍa' (p. 50) as 'a tax collected from the Turushka settlers in the kingdom', if correct, makes it the 'Hindu Jizya', as Sten Konow calls it. But 'uvachchar' mentioned in Tamil inscriptions, e.g. the Tiruvorriyur inscription of 1223, need not refer to Muslims but can mean only 'temple servants'. The fossilization of guilds into occupational sub-castes (Ch. IV) and the reference to Śreṇīs in terms of caste are but an arc in the vicious circle of subcastes forming guilds and guilds prepetuating the caste frame. This incidentally would help to show that every political or social institution in India tends to perpetuate caste one way or another.

Dr. Gopal has made valuable contribution to the study of medieval Indian history and students of Indian social history cannot afford to miss this book.

N. SUBRAHMANIAN

Early English Travellers in India by Dr. R. C. Prasad. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, 1965: Rs. 25.

Medieval Indian History enjoys to a greater degree an advantage, in the matter of source material, which is usually denied to earlier periods of our history: i.e. contemporary reports of foreign travellers. Megasthenes and Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsang occur infrequently in the earlier period, but after Marco Polo a series of European travellers reached and reported on India and some of these reports by early English travellers are critically examined in this interesting and useful work.

This study 'in the travel literature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods with particular reference to India' was undertaken as a Doctoral dissertation by the author in the University of Edinburgh during 1957-59; it gives not only biographical notes about the travellers but also excerpts from their writings to illustrate many points of interest to the student of history. Five kinds of travellers, the Pioneers like Thomas Stephens, the Ambassadors like William Hawkins, the 'English Fakir' Thomas Coryat, Merchant Adventurers like William Finch and Chaplains like Edward Terry are among those who are taken up for study by Mr. Prasad. This does not exhaust all the English travellers to India of that period, for it leaves out John Joudain, Thomas Best, Robert Coverte etc. The author has selected the more important and representative travellers alone for his study.

The value of the testimony of these travellers consists in its being more objective than local court diaries and courtiers' reports can be. But the author rightly cautions that "no authority can be more reliable than his sources,.......their learning, their integrity, their sincerity are not in question..... As a contemporary source of Indian History they will always remain indispensable, but what cannot be dispensed with is not necessarily infallible."

The accounts, especially those quoted from the travellers, are extremely interesting and in fact this is a case of truth being more exciting and entertaining than fiction. That this piece of research work is done by Mr. Prasad who is primarily a student of literature shows that the travellers' accounts can be of interest to scholars other than historians, too.

When one comes across passages like "many European writers of the 17th century, mostly travellers, have written about the Moghuls, but none has paid any considerable attention to the festivals and customs of Mewar", "It is indeed strange that Roe makes no mention of Rana Pratap's undaunted heroism, nor of Amar's lofty mind", one wonders whether the early Travellers were blind to the heroism of Rajasthan or James Tod, the Chronicler of Rajput stories, was creating Romance.

The book has three appendices, a short biography and an index; but a painstaking and useful work like this deserves a better physical get-up and can surely do with fewer printing errors.

N. SUBRAHMANIAN

A CRITIQUE OF THEORIES OF VIPARYAYA by Nani Lal Sen, Price Rs. 15. Pp. 259, Published by Dhirendra Debnath on behalf of Rabindra Bharati, Calcutta-7.

The volume under review is a critical account of the different theories of error in Indian epistemology. Epistemology is the science of the *instrument* of knowledge, which explains the way we gain knowledge of objects. The dictum that has guided Indian epistemology is, "the establishment of the existence of any object depends on the *Pramāṇa* (Mānādhīnā meya-siddhiḥ). Referring to the Indian philosophical systems, Max Muller observed, "there is no trace of intellectual cowardice in the systems". Anybody who reads the epistemological texts will find that they regale the most astute student of logic and even at times baffle the expert. The soundness of any theory of knowledge is judged by its treatment of the problem of error. It is the most knotty problem.

Dr. Sen has packed his book with information from almost all classical works. The work is divided into sixteen chapters. As many as fourteen theories of error are explained and examined with authentic documentation. The author has not confined himself to the celebrated five theories of error, but has comprehensively presented the other theories also along with the variants of the five theories. The author is very ambitious and seeks to take all knowledge into his stride and attempts to put it all in his work. The claims made in

the Preface for the work could have been modest. The work is no doubt of great help to students of Indian philosophy. In the concluding chapter the author attempts a new theory of error which apparently seeks to overcome the defects of the traditional theories. The attempt is praiseworthy. The Volume carries a Foreword from the Vice-Chancellor of Rabindra Bharati University, Sri Hiranmay Bannerjee. It is valuable addition to the literature in English on Indian epistemology.

P. NAGARAJA RAO

KAVI-KAUMUDI OF KALYA LAKSMINRSIMHA. Critically edited with an English Translation and Notes by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1965, Pp. 64. Price Re. 1.50.

The work under review already appeared in the Journal of the Karnatak University (Humanities), Vol. IX (1965), pp. 1-64. This has been edited critically on the basis of four manuscripts of the work. It had been first noticed by the late Dr. H. L. Hariappa.

Kavi-kaumudī otherwise called Anyoktimālā is divided into two Śatakas. The former one contains 101 Anyāpadeśa or Anyokti verses while the latter has only 46 such verses and obviously incomplete. Birds, beasts and objects of nature are made use of by the poet skilfully in order to fulfill the actual purpose of the Anyokti-verses. In Śataka I, verses 17 and 18 are identical in sense and similarly verses 71 and 72 give almost the same meaning. On p. 56, verses 39, 40, 41 are in the form of dialogue.

The Introduction gives all the information available about the work and the author. The author of the work has written two more works Janakajānanda (a drama) and Viśvadeśikavijaya (a Kāvya), besides the present one. The editor gives also an English rendering of the original. Diacritical marks are used wherever needed. An index of verses is also given. The printing and the get-up are good.

Some of the errors which have appeared in the Prefatory Note and Introduction could have been avoided. A few mistakes in the order of the verses given in the Index might have been corrected.

N. R. SUBBANNA.

देवताध्यायसंहितोपनिषद्-वंशब्राह्मणानि सायणद्विजराजभट्टभाष्यसहितानि तिरुप्पतिक्षेत्रस्थकेन्द्रीयविद्यापीठनिदेशकैः श्री बे. रामचन्द्रशर्मभिः मुद्रापितानि । मूल्यम् १२ रू.

"सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः" इति फणिभाषितमहाभाष्यादौ प्रख्यातप्रभावे सहस्रशाखात्मके सामवेदे कौथुमशाखैकैव प्रायशोऽस्मद्देशेऽद्य वरीवर्ति। मन्त्रब्राह्मणात्मिकायां तस्यां शाखायां प्रौढादीन्यष्टौ ब्राह्मणानि सन्ति । तत्र तृतीयं सामविधानाख्यं ब्राह्मणं तिरुप्पतिस्थकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठेन मुद्रितं 1964 तमे संवत्सरे, विमृष्टं च मयास्यामेव पत्रिकायाम् ॥

इदानीं देवताध्यायसंहितोपनिषद्वंशाख्यब्राह्मणत्रितयं देशान्तरीयान् अस्मद्देशीयांश्च तालपत्रमयान् प्रतिरूपितान् पत्रमयान् अमुद्रितान् मुद्रितांश्च द्वित्रान् आदर्शतया संपाद्य मिथस्संशोधनं कृत्वा पाठभेदपूर्वभाषणविमर्शादिकं स्वयमेव कृत्वा महता प्रयासेन दृढेषु पत्रेषु स्थूलाक्षरैः सुखदृश्यैः सम्मुद्रय केन्द्रीयनिदेशकैः प्रकाशितमिति महदेतत्प्रमोदस्थानं समेषां सामवेदाभिमानिनाम् ॥

तत्र देवताध्यायब्राह्मणं सर्वेषामपि साम्नाम् अर्थज्ञानाधीनप्रतिपाद्यदेवतापरिज्ञानायासम् आग्नेयैन्द्रादिपर्वसंज्ञाधीनदेवतापरिज्ञानपरिश्रमं च विना तत्तत्साम्नां निधनभक्तिपरिज्ञानेनैव देवतापरिज्ञानाय उपकरोति । प्रथमं तावत् "अग्निरिन्द्रः प्रजापतिः सोमो वरुणस्त्वेष्टा" इत्यारभ्य दश देवता अनूद्य दश देवतास्वन्यतमदेवताकत्वमेव समेषामपि साम्नां निधनवशेनावगन्तुं शक्यत इति प्रतिपाद्य, अनन्तरं सुलभोपायत्वेन देवताचतुष्टयं निर्दिश्य निधनवशेनैव चतसृष्वन्तर्भावं, ततो निधनज्ञानक्लेशमपि परित्यज्य देवतात्रितयज्ञानेनैव सर्वेषां साम्नां देवतावत्त्वज्ञानं संभवतीति सुलभतरोपायं, ततोऽपि सुलभतमेन प्रकारेण सर्वेषामपि साम्नां ब्रह्मनिश्वासभूतत्वात् सर्वासामपि देवतानां ब्रह्मविभूतिरूपत्वात् ब्रह्मैव देवता सर्वेषां साम्नाम् इति देवताप्रतिपादनं करोति । अत एवास्य देवताध्याय इति संज्ञा । अनन्तरं गायत्र्यादीनां छन्दसां वर्णभेददेवताभेदनिर्वचनानि निचृद्भुरिक्प्रभेदलक्षणं निरूप्य, गायत्रसामगानप्रकारः पठितः । ततो गायत्रीदेवता विराड्रूपिणी परदेवता इति प्रतिपादयति ॥

संहितोपनिषद्ब्राह्मणे—प्रथमतः आर्चिकसंहिताः देवासुरार्षभेदेन त्रिविधाः सलक्षणं निरूप्य तासां प्रयोगफलं प्रतिपाद्य पुनः उच्चारणभेदेन त्रैविध्यम् तत्राद्यस्य देवतासान्निध्यापादकत्वम् इतरयोः क्षिप्रमृतिसर्वस्वहान्याद्यनिष्टफलजनकत्वं फलमुक्त्वा पुनः आद्यस्य पुत्रपश्वादिसाधनत्वमुत्तरयोः पुत्रपश्वादिनाशकत्वं फलान्तरं च दृष्टान्तमुखेन उपपादितम् । पुनरपि शुद्धादि-

भेदेन संहितात्रैविध्यं सदृष्टान्तमुक्त्वा द्रुतादिभेदेन वाय्वादिदेवताकत्वं च प्रतिपादितं प्रथमखण्डे ॥

अनन्तरं च सामगानस्य संहितात्वमुपपाद्य "ऋच्यध्यूढं साम गीयते" इति न्यायेन ऋक्षु पूर्णतया सामगानप्रसक्तौ सत्यां कुत्रचित् पादलोपः, कुत्रचित् पदलोपः कुत्रचित् अक्षरलोपः, केषुचित् सामसु स्तोभसाहित्यं केषुचित् स्तोभराहित्यम् आरोहावरोहभेदाः, हस्तविन्यासप्रकारः, विनतप्रणताभिगीतह्रस्वकर्षणदीर्घकर्षणादिभेदाः, रथन्तरस्तोत्रे भकारसन्निवेशप्रकारः, तद्विज्ञानफलम् अविज्ञाने विपरीतफलमित्यादि सम्यग्वर्णितम् ॥

ततः उदूहलक्षणम्, उदात्तादिस्वरसंशये प्रकृतिस्वररूपोदात्तादिरेवाश्रयणीय इत्यादि प्रतिपाद्य 'अपात्रदानभीता विद्या ब्राह्मणमागत्य स्वरक्षणं प्रार्थयमास, इत्युक्त्वा पात्रदानस्यावश्यकत्वं पात्रताप्रयोजकीभूता धर्माः, आचार्यभक्तेरावश्यकत्वम् गुरुदक्षिणादानस्य सर्वकामावाप्तिसाधनत्वम् गोभूविद्यादानप्राशस्त्यमित्यादि सविस्तरमुपवर्णितम् । ऋक्तन्त्रादिलक्षणग्रन्थस्य नारदीयादिशिक्षात्रयस्य मात्रालक्षणादिग्रन्थजातस्य च इदमेव मूलमिति द्विजराजभट्टेन उपसंहारप्रसंगेन प्रसाधितम् । अत्र संहिताया रहस्यविज्ञेयपदार्थानां प्रतिपादनात् संहितोपनिषदिति नाम संजातम् । अस्य द्विजराजभट्टोपाध्यायेन समग्रं भाष्यं कृतम् सायणाचार्यभाष्यं संपूर्णतया नोपलब्धम् प्रथमखण्डस्यैवोपलब्धम् तदुभयमत्र मुद्रापितम् ॥

वंशब्राह्मणम्—सामवेदाध्ययनाध्यापनपरंपरा स्वयंभुब्रह्मप्रभृति शर्वदत्तगार्ग्यपर्यन्तमविच्छिन्ना, सैवेदानीम् अस्माभिरभिरक्ष्यत इति परिज्ञानदार्ढ्याय गुरुशिष्यपरंपरागतानां महर्षीणां नामधेयानि प्रतिपादयति । येषामध्यायोत्सर्जनकर्मणि तर्पणमाचरन्तीदानीन्तना अपि च्छन्दोगास्सर्वत्र । ऋषीणां वंशकीर्तनादस्य वंशब्राह्मणमिति संज्ञा ॥

विमर्शविषये अस्मिन् पुस्तके क्वचित् सायणाचार्यभाष्यखण्डनं तथा क्वचित् पूर्वमुद्रापकाणां द्वित्राणां तिरस्कारः, स्वमुद्रापणस्य गुणोत्कीर्तनं च दृश्यते ॥

प्रथमं तावत् सायणाचार्यखण्डनानि विचारयिष्यामः । "अथैतास्तिस्रः संहिता भवन्ति देवहूरेका वाक्शबहूरेका मित्रहूरेका" (सं. उ. पृ. 18) इति मूलम् । अत्र अमित्रहूः इति पदं विभज्य, अमित्रान् चोरहिंसादिकर्तॄन् आह्वयतीति अमित्रहूः इत्यर्थः कृतः द्विजराजभट्टैः । सायणाचार्यैस्तु मित्रहूः इति पदं विभज्य मित्राणां सखीनां आह्वानशीला इत्यर्थः कृतः । तस्य फलवचनम् एवं श्रूयते 'अथ यदाक्रन्दितमिव निक्रन्दितमिव सा मित्रहूः सर्वज्यानिं ज्यास्यतीति विद्याद्यस्तथाधीत इति । अत्र तार्तीयं स्वरमतिक्रम्य आक्रन्दितमिव निक्रन्दितमिव यः अधीते सः सर्वज्यानिं

सर्वसमृद्धिहानिं प्राप्स्यति । अतः कदाचिद् न प्रयोज्या इति द्विजराजीय-व्याख्या । सायणीये तु यः क्रन्दननिक्रन्दनसदृशस्वरेण अधीते सः सर्वस्य धनस्य हानिं प्राप्स्यति इति जानीयात् । एषा संहिता मित्राणामाह्वानशीला । तेषु च गृहमागतेषु तत्रत्यं धनम् उपभोगेन क्षीयते । अतः यद्यप्येषा मित्रहूरिति नाम्ना श्रेयसी तथापि फलतो दुष्टेति तात्पर्यमिति वर्तते । अत्र ग्रन्थे सायणः प्रश्लेषमविज्ञाय मित्रहूः इति व्याख्यातवान् । प्रमादकृतस्य तस्य समर्थनमपि स्वरुच्या कृतवान् । एतदसंबद्धम् अनर्थकं च इति दूषितम् । (p. 23)

अत्र अमित्रहूः (द्वि. भट्ट.) इति विभज्यार्थकरणे स्वारस्यं यदि स्यात् तद्भवतु । मित्रहूः इति व्याख्यान्तरे सायणीये का वा अनुपपत्तिः? मूले एका मित्रहूरेका इत्यत्र मित्रहूः इति पदविभागः स्वरस एव तस्यार्थश्च कृतः। तस्य फलवचने दुष्टफलत्वं श्रूयते । तस्य उपपत्तिः कथम् ? इति जिज्ञासायां साप्युपवर्णिता, यद्यपीत्यादिना ॥

पूर्वं सर्वप्रत्यक्षा असुरसंहिता इत्यत्र असुरसंहिताया दुष्टत्वेऽपि पशुसमृद्धिहेतुत्वं श्रूयते । यः पशुकामी स एवं ब्रूयादित्येवमर्थः । अथापि तस्याः शरीरपोषणोपयोगिपशुमात्रफलत्वात् असुरसंहितां तां प्रयुञ्जन् असुरसमानो भवतीति निन्दा कृता । तद्वत् मित्राह्वानशीलापि धनव्ययसाधनत्वात् निन्द्या भवतु । यदि धनलुब्धः तदा न प्रयुञ्जीत । यदि मित्राह्वानकामः तदा प्रयोगार्ह एव । लोके आढ्यः धनव्यये सत्यपि कन्याविवाहादौ बन्धुमित्राणां सश्रद्धमाह्वानं कृत्वा अपरिमिताभ्यवहारादिना वसनवितरणादिना च तान् सभाजयित्वा परितुष्टो भवति महीयते च सर्वैः । अतः धनव्यय-साधनत्वमात्रेण गर्ह्यत्वमिति न संभवति ।

"विहितं विपरीतमेकतस्स्यात् तदपि स्यात्कुहचिच्च साधुकर्म ।
गहनां गतिमस्य कर्मणोऽपि श्रुतिभावं च न विद्महे महेश" ॥

इति अभियुक्तवचनमनुसृत्य श्रुतेरर्थस्यात्यन्तगहनत्वात् तद्वासनावासित-स्वान्तानां सायणाचार्याणां चतुर्वेदविदां व्याख्याप्रकारः दूषणार्हो न भवतीत्य-वगन्तव्यम् ॥

"तद्यथा—वातेनातिशीघ्रं वाता बहुविभग्नं प्रभग्नं शेते" इति (सं. उ. मूलम् पृ. 24) ।

अत्र सायणव्याख्या—वातेन वायुना अतिशीघ्रं वाताः चलिताः महीरुहाः तत्र बहु अवयवजातं विभग्नं विशेषेण भग्नं प्रभग्नं प्रकर्षेण भग्नं च यथा भवति तथा पृथिव्यां शेते शेरते इति । अत्र तृतीयाविभक्त्येकवचनान्तशब्दस्य वाता इत्यस्य प्रथमाविभक्तिबहुवचनतया प्रमादेन अनवधानतया च

व्याख्यानं कृत्वा तादृशाबद्धानुसारेण शेते इत्यस्य शेरते इति बहुवचनतया व्याख्यातवान् सायण इति दोष उद्भावितः (पृ. 23) ॥

अत्र वाता इत्यस्य कर्मणि क्तप्रत्ययान्तत्वं झटिति स्मृतिपथमारोहति पूर्वं वातेन इति तृतीयान्तपदस्य सत्त्वात् । तदनुसारेण वाताः महीरुहाः इत्युक्त्वा तदनुसारेण क्रियापदस्य बहुवचनान्तत्वं व्याख्यातं सायणाचार्यैः । एवं वेदे बहुत्र लिङ्गवचनव्यत्यासः संभवति 'छन्दसि बहुलम्' इति । वाता इत्यस्य शत्रन्तत्वं तृतीयैकवचनं च कृत्वा वायुविशेषणत्वेन योजनं कृतं द्विजराजभट्टेन । अत्र को वा विशेषलाभः व्यावर्त्यलाभश्च ? वायोः स्वतश्चलनरूपत्वेन को वातिशयः समर्प्यते विशेषणेन ? दृष्टान्तवाक्यमिदं दृष्टान्तत्वमुभयथापि संभवति । को वात्र प्रमादः, का वाऽनवधानता इति सुधियः विभावयन्तु ॥

"यथा समञ्जनवता पूर्णखेन रथेन यं कामं कामयते तमभ्यश्नुते" इति (सं. उ. मूलम्. पृ. 29.) ।

अत्र पूर्णखेन चक्रस्य विवरम् आक्लेदनेन पूर्णं यस्य सः तथोक्तः रथः इति पूर्णखशब्दस्य रथविशेषणत्वमुक्त्वा अपूर्णो हि रथः निम्नोन्नतदेशगमने भग्नाक्षो भवेत्, अयं तद्वैलक्षण्यात् परप्राप्तये संपद्यत इति विशेषणस्य सार्थक्यमुक्तं सायणाचार्यैः । द्विजराजभट्टास्तु—पूर्णं च तत् खं च, खम् अन्तरीक्षम् कैः पूर्णम् ? चन्द्रग्रहनक्षत्रैः तद्वद्रथः पूर्णखः । ईषामारभ्य धूः पर्यन्तं सुवर्णरजताद्यैः धातुभिः विचित्रितः पूर्णखमिव राजत इति व्यवृण्वन् । अत्र द्विजराजीयव्याख्याने इव शब्दः अध्याहर्तव्यः । रथस्य सुवर्णादिपूर्णत्वेन स्वकामावाप्तिः इति वक्तव्यम् । तत्र सुवर्णसत्त्वे कामावाप्तिः स्यात् । तस्य गृहस्थत्वेऽपि तथा स्यात् रथस्थत्वे को विशेषः इति न स्फुरति आशयः । सायणीये तु—अध्याहारक्लेशं विना विशेषणत्वेनार्थकरणे अर्थविशेषः स्फुरति । यो रथेन गच्छन् संपादनार्थं देशान्तरं प्रस्थितः तस्य रथः तैलक्लेदनादिना सुसंस्कृतः यदि भवेत् तदा अभिलषितं देशं गत्वा शैघ्र्येण अर्थसंपादनं तद्द्वारा कामसंपादनं च भवति । अन्यथा असंस्कृतेन न देशान्तरावाप्तिः कामावाप्तिश्च स्यादिति विशेषणस्यार्थवत्त्वं स्फुटतया स्फुरति । अत्र को वा विरोध इति न भाति ॥

"अथातस्संहितोपनिषदो व्याख्यास्यामः" इति ग्रन्थारम्भ एव संहिताशब्दः सम्यग्व्युत्पादितो न भवतीति उच्यते । (पृ. 24)

सायणभाष्यमेवम्—वेदान्तरे तावत् पदानामत्यन्तसंश्लेषेण उच्चारणं संहितेत्युच्यते । तथा च पाणिनिः "परस्सन्निकर्षस्संहिता" इति स्मरति । सामवेदस्य "गीतिषु सामाख्या" इति न्यायेन केवलगानात्मकत्वात्

पदाभावेन प्रसिद्धा संहिता यद्यपि न भवति ; तथापि तस्मिन् सामगाने सप्त स्वरा भवन्ति क्रुष्टादयः मन्द्रमध्यमताराणीति त्रीणि वाचस्स्थानानि भवन्ति । एतेषां यः संनिकर्षः सा संहितेति ॥

अत्र यजुर्वेदे 'इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा' इति पदानां संश्लिष्टतया उच्चारणरूप-संहितात्वं यथा भवति तथा सामवेदे गानात्मकत्वात् मन्त्रस्थपदानां संनिकर्षेणोच्चारणं न भवति—स्वराणां तु क्रुष्टादीनां संनिकर्षेणोच्चारणं संभवति । गानात्मकस्य सामवेदस्य स्वरप्रधानत्वात् स्वराणां सन्निकर्ष इति आर्जवेन व्याख्यातम् । द्विजराजभट्टैस्तु अध्यापकाध्येतॄणां सम्यक् हितकरी संहिता । अथवा द्विपदावसानेनैव सन्ततमधीयानाः संहिताः । अथवा उपनयनानन्तरं शरीरावसानपर्यन्तं सन्ततमधीयन्त इति संहिता इति त्रिधा व्युत्पादितम् । अत्र अर्थत्रयेऽपि परसंनिकर्षरूपप्रसिद्धसंहिताशब्दार्थो न स्वीकृतः । सम्यक् हितकरी संहिता इति अप्रसिद्धार्थः । द्विपदावसानेनैव इत्युक्ते संहितात्वमपगतम् , संनिकर्षाभावात् । उपनयनप्रभृति शरीरावसानपर्यन्तमित्युक्ते यावज्जीवम् अहोरात्रं सन्ततमध्ययनं न संभवति, कार्यान्तरस्य सत्त्वात् । अत्रापि संनिकर्षाभावः स्पष्ट एव । तथा च अप्रसिद्धार्थकरणमिति तद्व्याख्यानं चोद्यमिति वक्तुं शक्यते । तथापि नास्माभिः चोद्यते प्रकारान्तरत्वात् तस्य । किन्तु सायणीये ऋजुव्याख्याने दोषम् उद्भावयितुः एतादृशानुपपत्तयः कुतो नास्फुरन्निति न जानीमः ॥

पूर्वमुद्रापकाणां पुस्तकान्यधिकृत्य यदुक्तं तदप्यद्य विचारयामः । "इडानिधनानि पदनिधनानि" इति मूले (पृ. 8) सर्वत्र सामान्तश्चतुर्विधः स्वरो निधनं, इडा, वागिति स एव अन्तर्निधनम् बहिर्निधनम् , इति द्वेधा इति पूर्वमुद्रिते पुस्तके वर्तते । अत्र सामान्तश्चतुर्विधः, स एव, बहिर्निधनम् , इति पदत्रयमपि असङ्गतम् , अप्रामाणिकम् , आदर्शपुस्तकेऽदृष्टं च इति दूषितम् , बहिः इत्यस्य निधनविशेषणत्वं न कुत्रापि दृष्टं इति च ॥ (c. n. 39)

सामान्तश्चतुर्विध इत्यस्य प्रमाणमेवं वर्तते । द्राह्यायणसूत्रे (प. 21. ख० 2) "सर्वत्र चत्वारीति शाण्डिल्यः" इति सूत्रव्याख्याने धन्वी । सर्वत्र तावत् चत्वार एव सामान्ताः स्वरो निधनं इडा वागिति । अत्र सामान्त इति शब्दः स्पष्टो वर्तते । एवं बहुत्र ॥

"बहिर्निधनं" (द्रा० सू० प० 21-ख० 2) "बहिस्वारं वा प्राणसामान्यात् बार्हतं हि" अत्र व्याख्या बहिर्निधनं बृहत् । तथा च निदानकारः "यानि बहिर्निधनानि तानि बार्हतानि" । पुष्पसूत्रे "अन्यत्र गणगीतिभ्यः" इत्यत्र

बहिर्निधनेषु वारवन्तीयादिषु । "निधनोपायान्तास्स्तोत्रीयास्सर्वत्र" । अत्र व्याख्या बहिर्निधनेषु आमहीयवादीषु इति बहुप्रमाणानि सन्ति । बहिर्निधनमिति तु बहिष्ट्वं निधनस्य विशेषणं भवितुमर्हति, अन्तर्निधनमिति अन्तरत्वस्य व्यावर्त्यस्य सत्त्वात् । बहिष्ट्वं तावत् न साम्नो बहिर्विद्यमानत्वम्, अपि तु ऋच एव बहिर्विद्यमानत्वम् अतः ऋक्समाप्तावपि गानस्य स्तोभात्मकस्य सत्त्वात् तदन्ते विद्यमानस्य सामान्त्यभागस्य निधनत्वं युज्यत इति बहिर्निधनशब्दो व्युत्पादनीयः; यथा रथन्तरादिषु । साम्नः बहिर्विद्यमानत्वमिति कृत्वा बहिर्विद्यमानस्य तस्य कथं सामावयवत्वमिति भ्रान्तं स्यात् दोषमुद्भावयद्भिः इति मन्ये । स एवान्तर्निधनमित्यत्र तच्छब्दः सामान्तपरामर्शी सामान्तशब्दश्च निधनोपलक्षकः । एवं कल्पसूत्रप्रातिशाख्यग्रन्थेषु प्रमाणप्रमितानां शब्दानाम् अप्रामाणिकत्वं वक्तुं न शक्यम्, यदि ग्रन्था अपि आलोचिताः स्युः ॥

संहितोपनिषत् (पृ. 53) तत्र नवमेऽह्नि अक्रान् इति स्तोत्रीयः, ततः एष देव इति दशर्चः, एष धिया इत्यष्टर्चः, एष उस्य इति षडृचः, इति एते चत्वारः पठिताः । परं तु अष्टाचत्वारिंशे स्तोमे विधीयमाने पर्यायोऽवशिष्यत इत्यारभ्य पवमानस्यते कव इति कल्पसूत्रकारोक्तं तृचं परिकल्प्य अष्टाचत्वारिंशः स्तोमः संपादित इति अत्र ग्रन्थे मुद्रितम् । पूर्वमुद्रितपुस्तके एते चत्वारः इत्यस्य स्थाने इत्येतत्प्रभृतयः चत्वारः षडृचाः पठिताः इति मुद्रितम् । तच्च असङ्गतमनन्वितमिति प्रकृतसंपादकेनोक्तम् (c. n. 89) ॥ अत्र किञ्चित् अवधेयमस्ति । द्वादशाह इति कश्चन यागः । तत्र प्रथमान्त्यौ अतिरात्रौ विहाय मध्ये दशाहानि सन्ति । तत्र प्रथमतः पृष्ठ्यसंज्ञकानि षडहानि, अनन्तरं त्रयश्छन्दोमाः, तत्र प्रथमश्चतुर्विंशः, द्वितीयश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशः, तृतीयोऽष्टाचत्वारिंशः, अन्त्यमहः अविवाक्यसंज्ञः इति स्थितिः । अत्र नवमेऽह्नि उक्थ्यसंस्थाके पञ्चदशस्तोत्राणि संपादनीयानि । तत्र प्रतिस्तोत्रमष्टाचत्वारिंशस्स्तोमः संपादनीयः । तथा सति बहिष्पवमानं प्रकृतम्, तत्र अक्रानिति त्रयः स्तोत्रीयाः, एष देव इति दश, एष धिया इत्यष्टौ, एष उस्येति एतत्प्रभृति चत्वारः षडृचाः, तथा सति पञ्चचत्वारिंशत् स्तोत्रीयाः संपन्नाः । अवशिष्टाः त्रयः, पवमानस्यतेकव इति प्रकृतितो ग्राह्या इति अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्स्तोमः संपादितः सूत्रकारेण । एतत् पूर्वमुद्रितपुस्तकपाठे संगच्छते । एते चत्वारः पठिताः इत्युक्तौ एतच्छब्दस्य पूर्वपरामर्शित्वात् पूर्वोक्तसप्तविंशतिस्तोत्रीया एव गृहीताः स्युः प्रकृतितः त्रयादाने त्रिंशत् स्तोत्रीयाः स्युः, अवशिष्टाः अष्टादश स्तोत्रीयाः, परित्यक्ताः स्युः इति श्रौतविदां सर्वमनवद्यम् ॥

"यत्र तु व्यञ्जनवन्तः प्रयुज्येरन्", इति मूलम् (सं. उ. पृ. 46.) । अत्र मूले व्याख्यायां च प्रयुज्येरन् इति मुद्रितम् । अनन्तरं यत्र यज्ञे य उद्गाता

अधिकृतः । ते सर्वे उद्गातारो यदि व्यञ्जनवतः व्यञ्जनान्तर्भूतान् भकारान् प्रयुञ्जेरन् इति विवरणं च अनूदितम् । इह प्रयुज्येरन् इति क्रियापदे यद्बहुवचनं तद्बहुयज्ञपरं इति च अनूदितम् । अत्र व्यञ्जनवन्तः प्रयुज्येरन् इत्युक्ते कर्मणि प्रयोगः स्यात् । तदैकस्मिन् यज्ञे व्यञ्जनवतां भकाराणां बहूनां सत्त्वात् बहुयज्ञपरमिति विवरणमसङ्गतं स्यात् । अतो व्यञ्जनवत इति द्वितीयाविभक्तिबहुवचनान्तपाठः दृष्टस्स्यात् व्याख्यातृभिः । तदनुसारेण क्रियापदमपि प्रयुञ्जीरन्निति । तदैव कर्तरि प्रयोगः स्यात् एकस्मिन् यज्ञे एकस्यैव उद्गातुः सत्त्वात्, बहूद्गातृकर्तृकत्वस्य असङ्गतत्वात् बहुयज्ञपरमिति व्याख्यानं सुगमं स्यात् । अनन्तरं च य उद्गाता इत्युक्त्वा ते सर्वे उद्गातारः प्रयुञ्जेरन् इति पूर्वोत्तरविरोधः क्रियापदस्य असाधुत्वं च मुद्रणे स्पष्टम् । इदं प्रयोगभेदानभिज्ञानमूलम् ॥ अतः मूले व्याख्यायां च व्यञ्जनवतः प्रयुञ्जीरन् इति विपरिणमय्य पठितव्यम् ॥

एवं विचार्या बहवो विषया वर्तन्ते । वेदव्याख्याने प्रवृत्तस्य मूलभूतवेदाध्ययनं, तद्विनियोजककल्पसूत्राध्ययनम्, प्रातिशाख्यादिलक्षणपरिज्ञानम्, प्रकृतिप्रत्ययस्वरादिविवेचकव्याकरणाभिज्ञता, वाक्यार्थनिर्णायकमीमांसादर्शनकौशलम्, यास्कनिरुक्तिपरिचयः, एवमादिकं वक्तव्यं सायणीये भाष्ये एतत्सर्वमपि दृश्यत इत्येतदनुक्तिसिद्धमामूलचूडमवलोकयताम् । अतः प्राचीनग्रन्थसंरक्षणाय प्रवृत्तैः प्राचां महिमापि संरक्षणीयः भाषान्तरपरिचयमात्रेण न ते परिभावनीया इति सविनयं विज्ञाप्यते ।

क्वचित् क्वचित् मुद्रणप्रमादः समीक्रियते ।

देवताध्यायब्राह्मणे—

| पृष्ठं | पङ्क्तिः | |
|---|---|---|
| 9 | 4 | वत्सप्र-इत्यत्र वात्सप्र इति स्यात् । |
| 10 | 6 | ऋङ्मात्र-अत्र तानमात्र इति ,, |
| 15 | 3 | कृष्टादि-अत्र क्रुष्टादि इति ,, |
| 24 | 1 | या वै खलु इत्यादि ग्रंथः छान्दोग्यमूलमिति मत्वा स्थूलाक्षरमुद्रणम् अन्ते (छा. उ. उ. 12. 1) इत्युक्तम् । तन्न, व्याख्याग्रन्थः सः । |
| 32 | 14 | तत्सवितुर्वरेणियों - अत्र साम्नि क्वचित् स्वरनिर्देशः कृतः । स च असमीचीनः मूलग्रन्थादवगन्तव्यः । |

संहितोपनिषदि ब्राह्मणे—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | | शिक्षापण | शिक्षण इति स्यात् । |
| 10 | 5 | प्रयोजनेन | प्रयोगेण „ |
| 10 | 6 | ब्रह्मयज्ञविधानं | सामविधानेऽत्र ब्रह्मयज्ञप्रसक्तिरेव न विद्यते |
| 11 | 8 | क्रमप्राप्तं | अत्र क्रमप्राप्तत्वं कथं संगच्छते । अष्टौ हि ब्राह्मणग्रन्था इत्यत्र वा अन्यत्र वा तादृशस्य क्रमस्याश्रूयमाणत्वात् । |
| „ | 13 | यज्ञविधानमेवोक्तं | यज्ञविधानगतोपासनमेवेति वक्तव्यम् यतः उपासनमेव विधीयते न यज्ञविधानम् । |
| „ | 5 | अशेषतः | अत्र विशेषतः इत्येव पाठः साधुः । इदं ब्राह्मणं सामान्येन प्रवृत्तम् । ते तावत् विशेषतः प्रवृत्ता इति सामान्यविशेषभावो युज्यते । अशेषतः इत्यसङ्गतम् । तदनुक्तानां बहूनां सत्त्वात् । |
| 12 | 6 | उपवीत | उपनयन इति स्यात् । तथा सति उपनयन-संस्कारानन्तरं वेदाध्ययनस्य प्रसक्तत्वात् । तदनन्तरम् इति वक्तुं शक्यते । उपवीतम् इति अस्य द्रव्यवाचकत्वात् तदानन्तर्यं कथं घटेत ? |
| 12 | 8 | क्रियापदं | क्रियापदं च इति स्यात् । क्रियापदं च बह्वर्थफल-वाक्यप्रदर्शनपरम् इत्यर्थो भवति । क्रियापद-मित्युक्तौ न कोऽपि विशेषः स्फुरति । |
| 12 | 14 | ये वेद | यो वेद - इति स्यात् । |
| 13 | 6 | कतमायत | कतमा च तदुपनिषत् इति स्यात् । |
| 13 | 7 | वेदान्तरसंहितावत् | अत्र वेदान्तरे तावत् इति पठितव्यम् । |
| 13 | 11 | तस्मिन् साम्नः | तस्मिन् सामगाने । |
| 13 | 14 | उपनिषत्प्रतिपाद्य | उपनिषत्प्रतिपाद्यं ब्रह्म दुर्विज्ञानत्वात् उपनिषदुच्यते । |
| 14 | 2 | उपपूर्वात् | उपनिपूर्वात्-इति स्यात् |
| „ | 9 | सर्वस्याः संहितायाः | सर्वाः संहिताः „ „ |
| 15 | 6 | „ | „ |
| 16 | 9 | यस्यां यस्यां | तस्यां तस्यां „ „ |
| 20 | 11 | निरुदितया वाचा | पदद्वयम् अनन्वितम् „ |
| „ | 12 | निकृष्टं | निकृष्टं रुदितम् । रेखा अधिका „ |
| 23 | 7 | अवाते अकाले | अवाते काले । „ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 24 | 12 | कर्णस्थाने | कण्ठस्थाने, उरःकण्ठश्शिरश्चैव स्थानानि त्रीणि वाङ्मये इति कण्ठः मध्यस्थानः । |
| 25 | 6 | अन्यवित्तेन | अन्यचित्तेन इति भवितव्यम |
| 25 | 16 | कर्ण | कण्ठ ,, |
| 26 | 7 | फलदोष | गुणदोष ,, |
| 28 | 17 | वर्तमानोपहाराः | वर्तनोपायाः. ,, |
| 29 | 16 | विवरमाक्लेदनेन | विवरः आक्लेदनेन ,, |
| 30 | 7 | फलद्योतनसंहितां | फलद्योतनेन ,, |
| 32 | 5 | विशिष्टदेवताः कामोपा- | विशिष्टदेवताकोपासनाय ,, |
| 34 | 8 | आयाहीवीइतो | आया हि ऽ उ वोइतो ,, |
| ,, | 10 | आज्यपृष्ठोक्तलक्षण | आज्यपृष्ठलक्षणेषु ,, |
| ,, | 18 | विक्रुष्टभाव | विक्रुष्टाऽऽभावा |
| 35 | 8 | इत्यत्र वरूथ्यस्य | इत्यत्र द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः वरूथ्यः ,, |
| 36 | 9 | अतिरोहोदाहरण | अतिहारोदाहरण ,, |
| ,, | 10 | नप्त्योर्हितः | नप्त्योवोर्हितः ,, |
| ,, | 16 | घोषणाध्ययन | ग्रहणाध्ययन-आचार्यनिकटे ग्रहणं ग्रहणाध्ययनं |
| 38 | 7 | प्राञ्चस्वराः कर्षण-लक्षिताः | कर्षणलक्षणाः- इति स्यात् । |
| 40 | 2 | सर्वत्र | अत्र सर्वत्र इति अध्ययनसंप्रदाये, नास्ति, अर्थविशेषोऽपि नास्ति । |
| 41 | 2 | अध्यर्धा दीर्घा | अध्यर्धा दीर्घे-इति स्यात् । अक्षरविशेषणत्वात् । |
| 42 | 19 | महत्पदार्थ | महद्धर्षप्राप्तेश्च ,, |
| 43 | 8 | पञ्चविधत्वं | पञ्चभक्तिकत्वं ,, |
| 44 | 3 | ओंकारवादानन्तरं | ओंकारवाक्काराद्दानानन्तरम् इति स्यात् । प्रस्तुतं सामावसीदति तदुद्गातोंकारेणोत्तभ्नोति - इति सामान्यविधेः, वागित्यादेयमिति विशेषविधेश्च सत्त्वात् ओंकारवाक्कारयोः प्रथमतः आदानम् । ततो भकारस्य इति वक्तव्यम् । |
| 44 | 13 | प्रतिहाराश्चतुरक्ष | प्रतिहाराच्चतुरक्षरम् । प्रतिहारात्पूर्वं चत्वारि अक्षराणि विहायेति तदर्थः । |
| 44 | 14 | ला. सू. (6.10.22) | ला. सू. (2.9.14) इति स्यात् । एवं मुद्रितेऽपि । |
| 45 | 6 | केवलम् | न केवलम् इति स्यात् । नञः अभावे वाक्यार्थ एव न भवति । |

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| 46 | 15 | व्यञ्जनवन्तः प्रयु-ज्येरन् | व्यञ्जनवतः प्रयुञ्जीरन् इति मूले व्याख्यायां च पठितव्यम् । |
| 47 | 7 | अनस्मरेत् | अनुस्वरेत् । दर्शयेदित्यस्य व्याख्या अनुस्वरेदित्येव । न तु अनुस्मरेदिति । |
| 48 | 8 | यज्ञेन | याज्ञेन इति स्यात् । यज्ञसम्बन्धिना इति व्याख्यातत्वात् । |
| 49 | 10 | वाक्ये नैवमुक्तम् | वाक्येन इदमुक्तम् । |
| 51 | 6 | सुवर्हिवम् | सुवर्दिवम् । |
| ,, | 19 | अतीव स्तुताम् | इदम् अनन्वितं भवति । |
| 52 | 5 | असंहार्यत्वात् | अवधार्यत्वात् । |
| ,, | 10 | यज्ञे योगः | इदं वाक्यम् अनन्वितं भवति । |
| 52 | 18 | दृष्टान्तम् | दृष्टान्तः । |
| 53 | 11 | पाह्य | पाह्यु । |
| 54 | 1 | एते चत्वारः पठिताः | एतत्प्रभृतयः चत्वारः षड्चाः पाठिता इति भाव्यम् । अस्य विवरणं पूर्वमेव कृतम् । |
| 54 | 7 | वाक्यगोळक | गोळक इति किमर्थम् ? |
| 55 | 3 | ऋक्स्वरूपा | ऋक्सरूपा |
| ,, | 8 | ब्राह्मणशरणं | ब्राह्मणं शरणम् इत्येव साधुः । |
| ,, | 9 | तच्छरणं | तम् शरणम् ,, |
| ,, | 10 | भवच्छरणं | भवन्तम् शरणम् ,, |
| 56 | 10 | सर्वगस्य | सर्वज्ञस्य । |
| 58 | 4 | वाक्ये न | इत्यादिवाक्यम् अनन्वितं भवति । |
| 58 | 14 | कर्मणो वा | कर्मणा वा । |
| 59 | 11 | प्रभावः | स्वभावः । किमालस्येत्यादिवाक्यम् अनन्वितम् । |
| 63 | 18 | यद्गृहीतं | यदधीतम् । |
| ,, | 19 | शुष्केन्धो | शुष्कैधो । |
| 65 | 7 | विज्ञाप्यन्ते | विज्ञापयन्ते । |
| 66 | 10 | दारवीवीणोत्पन्न | दारववीणोत्पन्न |
| 68 | 11 | समावर्तनस्नपन | इदं वाक्यम् असङ्गतम् । समावर्तन, स्नान-अनयोः पर्यायत्वम् । अतः स्नपनमित्येतत् असङ्गतम् । |
| 73 | 2 | अधिकरणे | प्रकरणे इति स्यात् । न त्वत्राधिकरणविचारः प्रवृत्तः । |

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|---|---|---|---|
| ,, | 18 | यज्ञैर्विनाऽपि | अत्र विनापि इति पदं असङ्गतम् । |
| 75 | 11 | उत्पादितेन | अत्र अर्जितेन इति भवितव्यम्-सत्प्रतिग्रहादिना धनस्यार्जनं क्रियते; न तु उत्पादनम् । |
| ,, | ,, | सोमसंस्थै | अर्नान्यतम् असङ्गतं च इदं पदम् । |
| ,, | 14 | अतः इदं ब्राह्मणं | अतःपरं इदं-इदं वाक्यम् उत्तरमन्त्रस्य अवतारिकारूपम् इति वेदितव्यम् । |
| 76 | 16 | ईश्वरलोकप्राप्ति | ईश्वरत्वप्राप्ति-इति स्यात् । पूर्वं पुरुषो वाऽयमीश्वरम् अभिजायत इति ईश्वरत्वमेव फलं उक्तम् । न तु लोक... । |
| 77 | 5 | सालावृकेभ्यः | सालावृकेयेभ्यः-इत्येवपाठः । तथैव ताण्ड्ये ब्राह्मणे व्याख्या कृता । ताण्ड्ये-(19-4-7) |
| 77 | 10 | अपश्येताम् | अपश्यतां तथैव पाठो मुद्रितपुस्तकेऽपि वर्तते । दृशेः आत्मेनपदं चासङ्गतम् ॥ |
| 78 | 20 | सन्मखाङ्गणे | सन्मुखाङ्गणे-साधूनां मुखे विराजते इत्यर्थः । न त्वत्र मखः विवक्षितः । |

वंशब्राह्मणे :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | 11 | ऋतुमात्रासंयुक्तम् | ऋतुमन्मात्रा-इति युक्तम् ऋतुमत्यां मातरि संयुक्तम् इत्यर्थः । |

एवं स्थलनिर्देशे समीकृत्य पठितुं शक्यत इति कृत्वा ज्ञापितम् । एवं स्खालित्ये सत्यपि मुद्रितग्रन्थः आदरणीय एव । एकत्रैव ब्राह्मणत्रयस्य क्लेशं बिना द्रष्टुं शक्यत्वात् । पाठान्तराणां बहूनां सत्त्वात् एतादृशपरिश्रमेण संपादितस्यास्य ग्रन्थस्य कृते कृतज्ञता समर्प्यते ।

धर्मज्ञः सामवेदी म. रामनाथदीक्षितः

THE CONCEPT OF PERFECTION IN THE TEACHINGS OF KANT AND THE GITA. By B. S. Gauchhwal. Pp. 184. Motilal Banansidass, Delhi. Price Rs. 18.

The volume under review is the doctorate thesis of the author submitted to the Punjab University. The thesis is an earnest attempt to compare Kantian Ethics and Metaphysics with those of the Bhagavad Gita. The book is divided into eleven chapters, covering comprehensively all the related topics of the study. The first two chapters deal with the historical background of the '*Concept of Perfection*' in Indian and Western thought. Chapters III and IV describe the conception of perfection in Kant and Gita.

The central idea through which the author forces a companion between the two is the acceptance of the *Rational element* as the unique feature in man; Kant was throughout keen on the supremacy of the *rational good* will in man. It is difficult to concede that according to the *Gita* the rational in man and its exercise brings about perfection destroying bondage. Lord Krishna's message in its *dual* interpretation, the *absolutistic* and the *thestic* seeks to show that the individual self arrogates to itself an all sufficient autonomy which is the Lord's privilege. It is the ignorance or false autonomy that is responsible for its bondage. The way out is through *self-effort and grace*; cultivation of ceremonial purity and ethical excellence. Only in one place the Gita states "Buddhau śaranan anviccha". To constitute an elaborate comparison between the rational good will in Kant with that in Gita is difficult. The pervasive feature of the Gita is *theism*, the concern of a loving God, for erring humanity. Indian philosophical thought, though it is not irrational, does not make reason the greatest in man. It is no doubt the mark distinguising man from animals, but there are other elements such as the moral sense, dharma, and his inmate spiritual nature. Reason is at best an instrument and its deliverances are inconclusive. It cannot propose to us ends but can only serve as instruments to secure the end, viz., spiritual progress. The Vedanta sutra and its commentatries are unequivocal on this. This is not to cry down reason but to make out its function and nature. The writer of the book has ignored this aspect. The concept of duty in Kant and Gita are not all alike. Duty is for Gita dedication to the Lord, doing of one's sva-dharma in accordance with scripture's ordinations. It only asks us not to have selfish motives. The other purposes of duty are lokasangraha and Īśvarapriti. I am afraid such a rich content is not there in Kant. The treatment is not sufficiently objective although it is enthusiastic. The treatment of Kant is full, but the treatment of Gita could be improved. A notable omission is the bibliography which is necessary for a research work. The book is an earnest attempt and a contribution to the study of comparative philosophy.

DR. P. NAGARAJA RAO.

SANKARADEVA AND HIS TIMES. By Dr. Maheswar Neog. Department of Publication. Gauhati University, 1965. Rs. 25.

Although this book has taken time to come out, the author Dr. Maheswar Neog has been known for his several contributions on Sankaradeva and related subjects in the last ten years and more, during which, besides papers, he published the brochures entitled Sankaradeva and His Predecessors (Gauhati 1953) and Sri Sankaradeva (Gauhati 1949). In its fuller form, the present study represents his Thesis accepted by his University in 1955 and we are glad that it has come out in full. This study extends to nearly 400 pages and covers the entire filed: the materials and sources available for the study of Sankaradeva and his times, particularly the biographies of the religious Gurus of the Vaishnava movement of Assam, and the sifting of these sources from the point of view of their authenticity and historical value; then the political conditions of Assam before the emergence of Sankaradeva and the social and economic conditions of the people at that time; the history of the Vaishnava movement which threw up a succession of saints and teachers, the greatest of whom was Sankaradeva (1449 or 1463-1569 A.D.); the literary and doctrinal works of Sankaradeva and his tenets; the arts of music, dance and drama which he used effectively for the propagation of Vaishnavite faith; the institutions and practices which were organised in the wake of this Vaishnava movement and the social impact of all this work of the great religious leader.

The treatment is full of facts of historical and cultural interest. The section on the works of Sankaradeva comprising Assamese translations of portions of Epics and Purāṇas, particularly the Bhāgavata which was the chief source of inspiration for this school, works on the doctrine of devotion and the most interesting ones namely the Sanskrit-cum-Assamese plays based on devotional themes, called *Ankia-Naṭs*, which were enacted with song and *Abhinaya* in the Vaishnava Satras, a network of which was established all over Assam; and in addition to these, the heap of devotional formulae for recital in chorus and devotional songs called *Kīrtana Ghoṣa, Nāma Ghoṣa* and *Bargita*-is very valuable and we are indebted to Dr. Neog for his thorough study of all these artistic creations

and the technique of the music—the rāgas and the tālas—of this tradition.

There is also a short but interesting section devoted to the art of manuscript preparation and illumination which was a speciality of the followers of this school, Sankaradeva himself having been a painter. The Bibliography and the Index are full and the map of Assam included in the book is very useful.

The study of the life and achievement of Sankaradeva is particularly valuable to-day, as his mission lay in a frontier region of the country and he had the vision, courage and capacity to integrate the people of Assam through devotion and the devotional arts of music, dance and drama in a remarkable manner, an achievement which is, apart from not being maintained, is unfortunately getting destroyed in the various secular and political forces which have been released in the country since Independence.

V. RAGHAVAN

THE DESTINY OF THE VEDAS. By Louis Renou. English translation. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi. Price Rs. 10.

An eminent Indologist, the author explains in this book the position of the Vedas in the post-vedic periods. He traces the reaction of the writers from the age of Brahmanas to the present age of Hindu renaissance, and the reaction of the later schools and writers towards the Vedas. According to him the expression of these writers is not favourable to the glory and the antiquity of the Vedas. These later works do not reveal the proper perspective and regard towards the Vedas. He says that reverence to the Vedas had come to be a simple "raising of the hat". The Brahmanas emphasised ritualism, while the Upanishads etc. were anti-ritual; and these were followed by the Tantras, the a-vedic and non-vedic approaches which did not give high status to the Vedas. The Itihāsas and Purāṇas followed by the various Bhakti cults merely respected the Vedas with the result that the Ṛg Veda lost its premier position.

The Notes appended to this Thesis and touching numerous points in the book reveal the author's critical and wide study of the associated literature of the past few milleniums.

It is common knowledge that in the history of all religions, successive generations added newer thoughts and some

of the older expressions receded to the background. This is also true of the ancient Vedic religion, whose followers were not restricted in their thinking, but were allowed to think out anew and express their ideas with regard to the ancient truths in their own way.

In the age following the Vedas, various disciplines and branches of literature grew, e.g., Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṁsā, Tantras, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and many Bhakti cults. These emphasised new ideas and approaches but they always had a respect for Vedic thought, and expressly stated that they owed everything to the Vedas. All through the ages, these authors and their followers have had a high regard for the injunctions of the Vedas and in their practical life, strictly adhered to it. Even today the average Hindu follows the Vedic rituals in his practical life. There are still many who are devoted to the Vedic sacrifices such as Soma Yāga etc., and they pattern their life according to this ideology. In recent years, many Vedic scholars and philosophers have tried to establish the continuity of the Vedic culture to the preeent day, and attempted at discovering the various missing links in its long history. It appears that at present there is a new revival of the Vedic thought and this book is bound to be of help to all those interested in Vedic studies and the reaffirmation of Vedic values.

AGNIHOTRAM RAMANUJA TATACHARI

STUDIES IN SKANDA PURANA PART I. By Dr. A. B. L. Awasthi. Published by Kailash Prakashan, Lucknow. Price Rs. 30.

In Indological studies the Puranas represent a backward class. Systematic work on them is just beginning to be made. The Skānda which is the longest of the Puranas has never been touched and it is therefore welcome that A. B. L. Awasthi has come forward to study this Purana. The book under review represents his Ph. D. Thesis at the Lucknow Universitv and is Part I of his work.

The Skānda is not one of the Puranas in which regular lists of the historical dynasties or connected accounts of the kingdoms are to be found. Its main subject matter is religion, but it has side-lights on matters falling outside of that field. It has got a good deal of geographical data which the author has

done well to collect in the opening chapter of this book. The few side-lights on political history available are then set forth, together with the general picture of the political system and society, these latter being not different from the normal pattern reflected in other sources. There are some South Indian dynasties which are mentioned in Skānda, the Pallavas, Cholas and Pandyas, and although none of the names mentioned here figure among the historical rulers of these dynasties, whatever general and legendary description is given of these South Indian Kings in the Purana, the author has set forth here. In addition to the lists of place-names, the book contains also lists of proper names of kings and others and a full bibliography and Index. It is hoped that in the further parts of this study the author would go into the contents of this extensive Purana more deeply and deal with the other aspects also.

V. Raghavan

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APPLY TO

THE SECRETARIES

KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

MYLAPORE, MADRAS—4

# OBITUARY NOTICES

## M. S. Aney

Even as the Republic Day honour on him was being announced Sri M. S. Aney passed away. He was a Congressman, parliamentarian and leader of the Vidarbha Maharashtrians; he occupied high places, first as India's High Commissioner in Ceylon and then as Governor of Bihar. A scholar and writer in Sanskrit and an ardent supporter of the cause of Sanskrit, he was connected with some of the scholarly bodies in the field of Sanskrit in Poona. Only a few days (on 19-1-1968) before his demise at his son's residence in Bombay, he wrote to the undersigned: "The common use of Sanskrit was able to preserve its (India's) cultural unity and even make for progress. That language can serve the purpose of preserving Indian unity in the same way to-day."

The late Sri Aney was one of the earliest Life Members of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute.

V. R.

## Dr. S. K. De
## (1890-1968)

The recent death in Calcutta of Dr. Susil Kumar De removes from the field of Sanskrit studies a distinguished scholar and writer who had taken leading part in different fields of academic activity. A student of English literature and a scholar and writer in Bengali, Dr. De turned first to the contributions of Sanskrit Alankāra Śāstra and his two-volume study on this subject became a constant companion to all students of Sanskrit literature. Later, when he was Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali at the Dacca University, he wrote and published much in the field of Caitanya Vaisnavism; an edition of the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka, in which he adumbrated the much contested theory of its original text as comprising only the first *Śataka*, an edition of the *Padyāvali* of Rūpa Gosvāmin and a large volume on the Caitanya movement and faith in Bengal where he traced the Advaitic background of the origin and early phase of this school.

After retirement he was for some time connected with the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and the Jadavpur University, Calcutta.

He was for some years one of the General Secretaries of the All-India Oriental Conference and was elected as the General President of its XVth Session at Bombay in 1949. He was a member of several bodies on which the undersigned had also worked: the Sanskrit Advisory Committee of the Sahitya Akademi, the Sanskrit Commission of the Government of India and the Sanskrit Dictionary Committee of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. He was editor of two of the Parvans (Udroga and Droṇa) of the *Mahābhārata* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Among his other publications are editions of Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita*, *Kīcakavadha* of Nītivarman, the *Meghaduta* and an anthology of selections from *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*, the last two for the Sahitya Akademi, and lectures delivered in India and U. S. on Sanskrit Poetics as a study in Aesthetics. When he was associated with the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, he gave us also a critical study of the textual problems of the *Amaruśataka*.

For the past few years when a good deal of work was being organised in the field of Sanskrit, Dr. De had unfortunately been ill and unable to make his contribution; but he used this retirement for reprinting his earlier productions and bringing out collected volumes of his detached studies and papers: *Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics, Aspects of Sanskrit Literature, Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature*, etc.

For the second edition under one cover of his Sanskrit Poetics, which, owing to his health, could not be completely revised as he and the undersigned originally desired to do, the undersigned contributed a number of corrections and additions.

Dr. S. K. De was also a leading literary figure in the Bengali field, having been President, for two terms, of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad. He had taken similarly an active part in the work of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

The late Dr. De was one of the earliest scholars to become Life Members of the K. S. R. Institute. His loss will be deeply mourned in the whole world of Indological studies.

V. R.

# FELICITATIONS

## The Sanskrit Centenarian

Pandit Sripada Damodara Satwalekar who has passed the Vedic span of hundred years of life is still actively carrying on his work through the Swadhyaya Mandal founded by him in 1918. Sri Satwalekar is a unique figure in the field of Sanskrit. He was in his early days a political agitator who had to run from place to place to escape the British authorities who were after him. He then took to national reconstruction work and chose the special field of Sanskrit. He was a popular painter and whatever moneys he earned through his pictures, he spent on Sanskrit propagation for which he prepared popular Text-books and organised private Sanskrit examinations which are still going on and for which thousands of students sit from all over India. With the moneys gained through this, he launched upon a progromme of bringing out different texts of the Vedas to be made available for rock-bottom prices. With a plan to popularise the Vedas, he brought out the texts of all the Vedic Saṁhitās in this manner. Not satisfied with this, he published Hindi translations and expositions of Ṛgvedic Sūktas, classified according to the deities. He issued these Volumes of Ṛgvedic Sūktas for the different Deities praised in them, classifying them by Devatās and calling the series Daivata Saṁhitā. His cheap Ṛgveda edition carried several Annexures with the Khilas, the Vikṛtis, Index of First words and the very useful Index of Similes. He turned his attention similarly to the Upaniṣads, Gītā, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. Over 400 publications in different fields have been brought out by him, all by his own voluntary effort. The following analysis by languages and number of pages will give an idea of the variety and extent of the publications he has brought out in the above mentioned fields:—

Hindi, about 20,000 pages; Gujarati, 7,000; Samhitā, 5,000; Marathi, 10,000; Vedagranthasūcī, 500 and English, 3,225.

From Aundh, he shifted in 1947 to Pardi near Surat where he has been functioning. Very recently he started a Sanskrit literary Journal called *Amṛtalatā*.

A few years back, a function was organised in Bombay in his honour with Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dr. K. M. Munshi, Dr. P. V. Kane and others participating, as part of which a Vedic Seminar was also held in which the undersigned along with numerous scholars took part.

The work of Pt. Satwalekar came to be recognised slowly by the Government of Free India which conferred on him honours including the title of *Padma Bhushan*.

In 1967 some Felicitation Committees to commemorate his centenary were organised in Bombay and Poona and purses were presented to him. The Bombay Committee headed by Sri S. K. Kirloskar presented him with Rs. 51,000 along with a Felicitation Volume; in Poona, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeetha presented him with Rs. 1,501. On behalf of the P. L. Deshpande Foundation, Rs. 10,001 were presented to him. At the time of our writing this, we find that the Bombay University has conferred an Honarary Doctorate on him.

One of the projects of Pt. Satwalekar which has been engaging his mind is to prepare permanent metal matrices of the texts of all the Vedic Saṁhitās, from which prints in any number could be taken at any time at a moderate cost.

We wish the Sanskrit Centenarian many more years of health and service to the cause of Sanskrit and Veda and hope that he will add further to his achievements which already form a unique record in the annals of Sanskrit.

V. RAGHAVAN

## INTRODUCTION

In the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts acquired for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, through its peripatetic search party, from the Paliyam Library in the erstwhile Cochin State in 1920, there was a fragment of a commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya on palm leaves in Malayalam characters, covering the first two adhikaraṇas and the first adhyāya of the third adhikaraṇa. The Library made a paper transcript (No. R. 5208) of the manuscript and returned the original to the owner. Later on, the owner passed it on along with a complete manuscript in Malayalam characters of the whole of the *Arthaśāstra* to Prof. Winternitz, Prague, Czechoslovakia. The latter reviewing the two manuscripts in Zeitschrift für Indologie and Iranistik (Vol. 6, pp. 14-17) said that the manuscript was illegible and incorrect, that neither the name of the commentary nor that of the commentator was found in the colophon and that the text contained nothing new, when compared with the text of Drs. Jolly and Ganapati Sastri. Consequently, this commentary was left unnoticed by scholars interested in Kauṭaliyan studies for long years.

A copy of this commentary also came to the hands of Dr. Gaṇapati Sastri in 1924, when the last part of his edition of the *Arthaśāstra* was nearing completion; this fresh material was therefore reserved for assimilation in his second edition of the work. But his retirement from Service came soon after in 1925, which he did not survive long; he passed away in 1926. I had the good fortune to be associated with Dr. Ganapati Sastri, since he became the Curator-Editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit series; and, when I perused the commentary, I found that it was, in spite of errors and gaps, an ancient and learned exposition of the *Arthaśāstra* containing better readings not found in the printed editions. The closing colophon of the first adhikaraṇa (Book) described the commentary as *Jayamaṅgalā* and that of the third chapter of the second Book, as *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* by Bhikṣuprabhamati.

I made a copy of the commentary and began to work on it, devoting all possible attention to extricate the original from behind the crust of errors in several places and comparing the doubtful readings with parallels in relevant texts. The *Jaya-(maṅgalā)* commentary, edited now, had long been waiting to find its way to the public, and finally, Dr. V. Raghavan

giving it a lift, it was published as Supplement in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XX-XXV (1950-5) and issued in book form as a Publication of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras.

Errors and gaps are much more common in the *Cāṇ(akya) ṭī(kā)*, the commentary on the second Book; and out of thirty-six chapters in it, six are wanting in the manuscript. However, the second Book, known as *Adhyakṣapracāra*, is not only the biggest in the *Arthaśāstra*, but also a literature by itself,[1] and it is considered to be the only original authority on the civil administration in the Nanda-Mauryan epoch. Besides, there are in the second Book unexplained passages waiting elucidation; therefore it is essential, I thought, that no new material, however imperfect, should be left unexploited. With this end in view I have made bold to edit the *Cāṇ. ṭī.*, with the help of the single manuscript in hand and place it before the public, in continuation of the *Jaya.*, in the same Journal.[2]

Sarvānanda, the Bengali commentator on the *Amarakośa*, is said to have written his commentary in 1159 A.D.[3] He tells us that he was quoting from the *Cāṇ. ṭī* and his quotations are found word for word in the commentary.[4] His explanation of the word haricandana[5] is verbatim the same as in the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* but his express quotations from the latter vary from the extant manuscripts of the commentary.[6] Thus the *Cāṇ. ṭī.*, in order

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1. The chapters of the second Book were so popular as to be quoted in the commentary of Sarvānanda on the *Amarakośa* without reference to the *Arthaśāstra*, as for example, कोष्ठाध्यक्षप्रचार० (II, 5.10, TSS., No. 43, p. 224) and कुप्याध्यक्षप्रचार० (II, 9.92, TSS., No. 51, p. 231); *cf.* Medhātithi on Manu, VII. 61, 81.

2. In 1932-3, Dr. V. Raghavan had used this commentary of Bhikṣuprabhamati in his study of the encyclopaedic Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa of Bhoja. *See* Pp. 217-8 of his Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa, 1966 edn., (Pp. 226-7, 1940-45 edn.).

3. See I. 4.21, TSS., No. 38, p. 91.

4. See *Jaya.*, Intro., p. ii, Notes 3.

5. *Cf.* हरिर्मण्डूकः तदाकारे पर्वते जातं हरिचन्दनं पक्वाम्रफलगन्धि । (*Cāṇ. ṭī.*, p. 144) and "हरिर्मण्डूकः तदाकारे पर्वते जातं हरिचन्दनं पक्वाम्रगन्धि ।" (II. 6.131; TSS. No. 43, p. 384)

6. *Cf.* (i) "'यु मिश्रणे', बहुलवचनाद् भावे 'वसेस्तुन्' इति तुन् । योतुः शोधनं, तदर्थतया तस्येदं यौतवं तुलादिशोधनोपायः इति यौतवाध्यक्ष इत्यध्याये चाणक्यटीकाकृतोक्तम्" (II, 9.85; TSS, No. 51, p. 225) and

that it should be referred to as an authority in the *Amara* commentary, must date from a period far earlier than the latter. Similarities are also conspicuous between the following passages in the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* and the *Vaijayantī* of Yādavaprakāśa (1100 A. D.[1]) ; and, on examination, it seems that Yādava adapted from the commentary with additions, omissions and alterations, in order to suit the exigencies of metre :

| *Cāṇ.ṭī.* | *Vaijayantī* |
|---|---|
| जानुभञ्जिनीः शरभा इव अष्टाभिः जानुमात्रोत्सेधैः पादैः क्षिप्तजानुभञ्जन-योग्याः सारदारुखण्डाः । (p. 91) | शरभा जानुमात्रा या दारुजा जानुभञ्जनी । |
| अहिपृष्ठं निर्मांसाहिपृष्ठास्थिसंस्थानं लोहमयम् । (*Ibid.*) | अहिपृष्ठन्तु निर्मांस-पृष्ठास्थ्याभमयोमयम् । |
| उपस्कन्दः पिच्छिला भूमिः । (*Ibid.*) | उपस्कन्दः प्रस्खलिनी भूमिः स्थपुटपिच्छिला । |
| पादुका तत्प्रमाण एव कण्टकोपचितः पांसुच्छन्नो गर्तः । (*Ibid.*) | पादुका कण्टकी गर्तः पांसुच्छन्नो महापथे । |
| पट्टिसो लोहदण्डः खुराग्रकः...... कण्टकच्छेदनो द्विमुखः, एते तीक्ष्ण-धारत्वात् क्षुरप्राः । (p. 183) | पट्टसो लोहदण्डो यस्तीक्ष्णधारः क्षुरोपमः । कण्टकच्छेदनोऽप्येवं द्विमुखश्च भवत्यसौ ॥ |

The *Jaya.* and the *Cān. ṭī.* are found strung together in the same manuscript and the colopon of the first Book calls the commentary the *Jaya.*; the copyist probably seeing this colophon, docketed the manuscript as the *Jaya.* But as the colophon of the third chapter of the second Book reveals a different title, namely, the *Cāṇ. tī.*, I took them to be two different commentaries.[2] Now clearer evidences are manifesting to show that the one is a continuation of the other, and that both of them are parts of an organic whole. To cite two

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"पुनातेस्तुन् प्रत्ययः पोतुः शोधनमुच्यते । तत्र भवः, अध्यक्षस्य तुलामानशोधनार्थो व्यापारः पौतवम् ।" (*Cāṇ. ṭī.* p. 184)

(ii) प्रग्रीवं मुखशालेति चाणक्यटीकाकृत् । (III, 5.35, TSS. No. 52, p. 186) and "प्रग्रीवं शालामुखम् ।" (*Cāṇ. ṭī.*, p. 101); pamukha (Pāli) and pūmuka (Tamil) porch.

1. Winternitz, GIL. III, 439.
2. *Jaya.*, Intro. p. ii.

instances: The *Jaya.* says that prakaraṇas (sections) serve a common purpose and the relation of the two successive prakaraṇas should therefore be explained, but the relation of two sūtras, one coming at the end and the other at the beginning of two contiguous prakaraṇas, need not be explained, for, being subordinates to their respective prakaraṇas, they are independent of each other; just as words in a sentence have no relation with those of a succeeding sentence.[1] The *Cāṇ. ṭī* also says at the outset that the relation of the prakaraṇas should be explained, but the relation of the sūtras need not be treated separately and that this topic has already been dealt with (by us); सूत्रसंबन्धस्तु न पृथग् व्याख्येय इत्युक्तं पुरस्तात्। Accordingly, it explains the relation of the last prakaraṇa of the first Book to that of the first prakaraṇa of the second Book[2] and also reproduces the relevant passage of the *Jaya.* in full.[3] Again, the *Jaya.* takes the expression राजवृत्तिः "the conduct of a king" occurring at the commencement of the second chapter of the first Book as an *adhikāra*(*sūtra*), exercising its influence on all the topics in the *Arthaśāstra.*[4] The *Cāṇ. ṭī,* commenting on the sentence पञ्चसंवत्सरं युगम्। II. 20 introduces the adhikāra, the governing rule and remarks "a yuga of five years is what we find in practical life; caturyuga which is a part of manvantara and other periods of time have

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1. सूत्रसंबन्धोऽपि वक्तव्य इति न वाच्यम् । पूर्वप्रकरणापेक्षं हि तदुत्तरसूत्रम् । उत्तरप्रकरणानुरूपञ्च तदादिसूत्रम् । तयोः स्वप्रकरणे गुणीभूतयोर्नापेक्षा । यथा वाक्यावयवानां पदानां वाक्यान्तरावयवैर्नापेक्षा, वाक्यद्वयोरेवापेक्षा । कथम् अधिकरणावयवानां प्रकरणानां संबन्ध इति चेत् प्रकरणान्यैवैकार्थानि, अधिकरणं तु अधिकरणमेवैषाम् इत्यदोषः । (p. 14).

2. प्रकरणक्रमस्तु राजपुत्ररक्षणादीनि आत्मरक्षान्तर्भूतान्येव प्रकरणानि । तत्र चोक्तम्—"रक्षितो राजा राज्यं रक्षति" इति । राज्यञ्च जनपदप्रधानमेव, तस्य च पुरुषवत्तया सामग्र्यम् । तथा च वक्ष्यति—"पुरुषवद्धि राज्यम्" इति । सर्वप्रकरणानाञ्च उत्तरप्रकरणभाविनां योनित्वात् । तस्मात् तन्निर्देश आत्मरक्षानन्तरमुच्यते । (p. 77)

3. *Cāṇ. ṭī, Ibid.*

4. इदानीं निर्देशतः शास्त्रं प्रस्तूयते । तत्रेदं शास्त्रं किमधिकृत्येत्यत्राह—राजवृत्तिरिति । अधिक्रियते सर्वमेतच्छास्त्रं राजवृत्तिः राजा अनेन वर्तत इति कृत्वा । (p. 8).

no place on the conduct of a king; for, no king is known to have ruled over a country for such a long period."[1]

Besides, both the commentaries explain the significance of using separate words in the place of a compound,[2] (योगविभागः= separation of the words of a sūtra), refer to the usages of former ages[3] (पुराकल्पस्थितिः) and follow an uniform method of treatment, style of diction, turns of expressions and other common characteristics. As regards the two different names of the same commentary, it seems to me that the *Jaya.* is the conventional and *Cāṇ. ṭī*, the etymological name of one and the same work; and this theory receives support from the fact that the same commentary on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* is called *Jaya.* and *Bhaṭṭiṭīkā* by Śaraṇadeva, in his *Durghaṭavṛtti*.[4]

The fragment of a Devanāgarī manuscript on palm leaves of the *Arthaśāstra*, discovered from the Jain Bhandar at Patan in Gujarat, contains the text from the second chapter of the first Book up to the sixth chapter of the second Book and also *Marginal Notes* up to the first two sentences of the second Book. A fragment of a commentary is attached to the manuscript called *Nītinirṇīti* alias *Kauṭalīya-rājasiddhānta-ṭīkā* by Yogg-

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1. पञ्चसंवत्सरं युगमिति संव्यवहार्यम् । चतुर्युगं मन्वन्तराद्यवरं राजवृत्तौ असंव्यवहार्यत्वान्नाख्यातम् । नह्येतावत्कालं कस्यचिद् राज्ञस्तन्त्रेऽवगतो व्यवहारः । (p. 192).

2. See for instance, (कृषिः पाशुपाल्यं वणिज्या च वार्ता ।) केचित् कृषिपाशुपाल्ये इति समस्य पठन्ति । तत्र च प्रयोजनम् इतरेतरापेक्षत्वम् । वणिज्यायाश्च पृथक्करणं निरपेक्षत्वादित्याहुः । तदयुक्तम् । सर्वेषां परस्परार्थकरणस्य अप्रतिषिद्धत्वात् । तस्मादसमासकरणं समस्तव्यस्तज्ञापनार्थम् । एतत् सर्वं वार्ता । (*Jaya.* p. 13) and (अपराजिताप्रतिहतजयन्तवैजयन्तकोष्ठकान् अश्विश्रीमदिरागृहं च पुरमध्ये कारयेत् ।) एषां कोष्ठकान् इष्टकामयान् पुरमध्ये पुरान्ते वा कारयेत् ।..............आसां गृहं कोष्ठकं पुरमध्य एवेति नियमार्थो योगविभागः । (*Cāṇ. ṭī.*, p. 99).

3 ब्राह्मणग्रहणं पुराकल्पापेक्षम् । (*Jaya.*, p. 53) and परिमाणप्रसिद्ध्या षोडशपरिमाणम्, यथोच्यते पुराकल्पे । (*Cāṇ. ṭī.* p. 151), घृततैलवारकयोश्चतुर्भागस्य घटिकेत्याख्या । पुराकल्पे स्थितिरियम् । (*Ibid.* p. 188).

4. There are ten citations from the *Jaya.* and one from *Bhaṭṭiṭīkā*, (Vide, list of works quoted in the *Durghaṭavṛtti*, दुर्घटवृत्तौ स्मृता ग्रन्थाः, TSS. No. 6, 1909); they are verifiable in the *Jaya.* commentary on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, N. S. edn., Bombay, 1928.

hama (Yogakṣema !); it covers the first three chapters and the beginning of the fourth chapter of the second Book.[1]

It is interesting to find that this tiny fragment of the commentary bears resemblance to the *Cāṇ. ṭī.*; and, from the few parallels from the two commentaries given below side by side for comparison, it will be evident that the former followed the latter, borrowing ideas, expressions and illustrations:

| *Cāṇ. ṭī* | *Nītinirṇīti* |
|---|---|
| दाम्पत्यम् एकचुल्याधानत्वम् एकगृहाधानत्वं वा क्षेत्रविभागं प्रत्यनङ्गभूतम् । तस्माद् एकद्वित्रिहलत्वेन कुलानां कुलत्वम् । | चुल्याधानदाम्पत्ययोः क्षेत्रविभागे अनङ्गत्वाद् एकद्वित्रिहलत्वेन कुलम् । |
| हलमष्टगवं धर्म्यं षड्गवं व्यावहारिकम् । चतुर्गवं नृशंसानां द्विगवन्तु गवाशिनाम् ॥ इति । (p. 78) | (हलमष्टगवं धर्म्यं षड्गवं व्याव) हारिकम् । चतुर्गवञ्च म्लेच्छानां द्विगवन्तु गवाशिनाम् ॥इति ।(p.2) |
| समुदयस्य व्यवहाराणाञ्च स्थानाय हितत्वात् स्थानीयम् । (p. 79) | स्थानीयम्.......समुदयव्यवहारस्थानाय हितमिति (p. 3) |
| अप्रजातामिति गर्भिणीम् । अनाथामित्येव । प्रजातायाश्च पुत्रानिति, न तावतैव सनाथा भवति । (p. 81) | स्त्रियमप्रजातां गर्भिणीम् अनाथामित्यपेक्ष्यम् । प्रजातायाश्च पुत्रान् । न तेषां मातृसद्भावमात्रेण सनाथतेति भावः । (p. 6) |
| मृगयाशीला मृगयवः तेषां कर्म मार्गयुकं पञ्चविधं हस्तिशिक्षोक्तम् । ......ते हि स्वयं मृगयाङ्गत्वाद् रूपमादाय विशस्य च स्वामिने समर्पयन्ति । (p. 84) | मृगयुर्व्याधः, तस्य कर्म मार्गयुकं हस्तिशिक्षोक्तम्।....ते हि शिक्षावशात् मृगं विधृत्य हत्वा वा राज्ञे अर्पयन्ति । (p. 9) |
| हस्तिपको हस्त्यारोहः । पादपाशिकः पादपाशनियुक्तः सीमको वनमर्यादाभिज्ञः । | हस्तिपकः आरोहकः । (पादपाशिकः) पादपाशनियुक्तः । सैमिको वनमर्यादाभिज्ञः । |
| हस्तिनो भल्लातकवृक्षं परिहरन्ति । अतः तत्पत्रवतीभिः शाखाभिः व्यवहितात्मरूपाः । शाखाग्रहणं वृक्षानुकारार्थम् । (p. 85) | भल्लातकिरारुष्करवृक्षः । तस्य पत्रोपलक्षितशाखाप्रतिच्छन्नरूपाः । हस्तिनो हि भल्लातकिवृक्षं परिहरन्ति । (p. 11) |

1. The text with commentary is edited by Muni Jinavijaya and published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1959.

| *Cān. ṭī.* | *Nītinirṇīti* |
|---|---|
| आपदि पराभियोगलक्षणायाम् । अपसारो वा कलत्रस्थानं जनपदस्य । (p. 87) | आपदि पराभियोगलक्षणायाम् । अपसारो वा कलत्रमपसार्य स्थाप्यत इति । (p. 14) |
| ओजं....युग्मं वा....अर्धत्रयोदशादिहस्तनिवृत्त्यर्थम् उभयग्रहणम् । (p.89) | ओजयुग्मग्रहणञ्च हस्तन्यूनेन वितस्त्यङ्गुलादिभिः उत्सेधवृद्धिर्न कल्पनीयेति ज्ञापनार्थम् । (p. 16) |
| त्रिभागाधिकायामा[1] इति, परिकल्पिताद् विस्तारात् । अष्टहस्तविस्तारत्वे द्वादशहस्तायताः । (p. 95) | त्रिभागाधिकायामा इति । यदि दशहस्तो विष्कम्भः, तदा पञ्चदशहस्त आयामः । (p. 22) |

Both commentaries also quote in identical contexts the stanzas, हलमष्टगवं धर्म्यम्०,[2] संयोगकामो नैराश्यम्०,[3] and दशपूर्वायता वंशाः०[4]

Sometimes Yogghama seems to be independent, as when he draws from a source other than the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* As for example, the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* explains the phrase स्वदेशाभिष्यन्दवमनेन II. I as "shifting the excess food grains, cattle, people and so on, from a developed part of one's own country (to the villages to be newly formed), lest the excess should prove harmful to the body politic, like the excess of phlegmatic humour in an animal body"[5]; while Yogghama appears to criticise the *Cāṇ. ṭī.*, when he says that the phrase means "drawing off the surplus descendants from a family like the surplus water from a low land, but not the excess food grains and other things".[6]

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1. The reading is supported by the mannscripts and the Malayalam commentary; it means "the length is one third more than the width," but according to the rendering of the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* and the *Nītinirṇīti*, as "the length and width are in the ratio of three to two", the text should be read अध्यर्धायामाः ।

2. *Cāṇ. ṭī.* p. 78, *Nītinirṇīti*, p. 2.
3. do. p. 85, do. p. 11.
4. do. p. 97, do. p. 24.

5. स्वदेशे(न ?) अभिष्यन्दसंपत्त्या धान्यपशुमनुष्याद्याधि(क्यम् ? क्यात्), शरीरस्येव श्लेष्मोद्रेको मा भूत् । (*Cāṇ. ṭī.* p. 78)

6. स्वदेशाभिष्यन्दवमनेन चेति । यथा निर्झरासन्ननिम्ने कालान्तरेण जलसंग्रहो भवति, तद्वत् ततः प्रजाभिष्यन्दः सन्ततिबाहुल्यम । एकस्मिन्नेव कुटुम्बे पुत्रनप्तृभ्रातृभागिनेयादिबाहुल्यात् । न धान्यादिप्राचुर्यात् । (p. 2)

Again the *Cāṇ. ṭī.*[1] and the Malayalam commentary[2] on the *Arthaśāstra* explain भाण्डवाहिनीः कुल्याः II.3 as "rooms for storing weapons"; while Yogghama says that kulyā means a canal, and it is used here in a metaphorical sense of "armoury", as arms are constantly kept flowing from it like water in canals.[3] Kulyam (neutral) occurs in the sense of "sepulchral monument" in the *Mahābhārata*[4], and eḍūka gives the sense of "a building containing Buddhist relics;" as *l* and *ḍ* are interchangeable, the passage कुड्यमेडूकं यदन्तर्न्यस्तकीकसम्, in the *Amara* II. 2.4 can be explained as "the structure (kulya or kuḍya) in which bones are deposited is called eḍūka" rather than "a wall with bones within" as taken by traditional commentaries.[5] The *Kāśikā* on उपमानादाचारे। (P. III. 1.10) has an illustration प्रासादीयति कुड्ये। "one in a hut behaves as if he were in a palace," the *Padamañjarī* commentary on the *Kāśikā* has however amended 'kuḍye' as 'kuṭyām[6]' which is followed by later grammarians. Thus it seems clear that 'kulya' gives the literal sense of "structure."

With regard to the *Marginal Notes* in the Patan folios they contain explanations and quotations, in common with the *Jaya.*, indicating their affinity with the latter.[7] However, as

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1. कुल्याः अप(परि?वर)कान् । (p. 95), *cf.* Pāli, ovaraka, "apartment."

2. குல்லைகள் என்ற வாறு, அற. (Ms. with the editor, p. 171).

3. भाण्डं रणोपकरणं तद् वहन्ति चाविच्छिन्नतया निर्व्यूढे चान्यदाधेयमिति । (यथा) कुल्यासु जलमविच्छिन्नं तथात्र भाण्डमिति कुल्याव्यपदेशो भाण्डशालानाम् । (p. 23)

4. गच्छन्तु पुरुषाः शीघ्रं नगरं वारणावतम् ।
सत्कारयन्तु तान् वीरान् कुन्तिराजसुतांश्च ताम् ॥
कारयन्तु च कुल्यानि शुभानि च बृहन्ति च ।
ये च तत्र मृतास्तेषां सुहृदो यान्तु ता(न ? न्य)पि ॥ (I. 150. 12—13)

5. यत् कुड्यमन्तर्गतास्थि तदेडूकम् । (TSS. 43, p. 25.)

6. कुट्यामिति युक्तः पाठः ।

7. *Cf.* (i) विसदृशव्यापारत्वाद् विसदृशस्वरूपत्वाद् विसदृशफलत्वाच्चतस्र एव विद्याः । (*Jaya.* p. 9) and यस्माद् अभिधानस्वरूपोपकारकफला हि सर्वा भिन्नाः, तस्माच्चतस्र एव विद्याः । (*Notes* 1, p. 5).

the *Notes* on the first two passages of the second Book of the *Arthaśāstra* are found to have been copied verbatim from the commentary of Yogghama,[1] the legitimate inference seems to be that the *Notes* were directly derived from the latter. If, as already shown, the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* was a continuation of the *Jaya.* and Yogghama followed in the wake of the *Cāṇ. ṭī.*, it cannot be wrong to take that the author of the *Notes* had before him the commentary of Yogghama on the first Book of the *Arthaśāstra* which is now lost in the Patan Devanagari manuscript.

Good variants occur in the text of the Patan codex and in the *Jaya-Cāṇ. ṭī.* commentary. The mark resembling the letter છ in Gujarati at the end of paragraphs and the reduplication of consonants र्ग्ग, र्ण्ण, र्त्थ, र्म्म found in the Patan palm leaves are the characteristic features of old Malayalam manuscripts on palm leaves in Kerala. The reason for this is not far to seek. There are ample evidences to prove the existence of an inter-flowing current of Sanskritic culture between Kerala and other distant parts of India for ages in the past, and it is but natural that similarities occur in the texts and manuscripts discovered in countries separated by long distance.

Another fragmentary commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* is *Pratipadapañcikā* of Bhaṭṭasvāmin. Of this, two manuscripts have been obtained, one from Tanjore in Grantha characters and the other from Malabar in Malayalam characters; both are similar, run from the eighth to thirty-sixth chapter of the second Book, and appear to be copies of the same original.

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(ii) तद् विद्यानां विद्यात्वम् । यतः आन्वीक्षिकीं विचारणार्थो विन्तेऽनयेति, त्रयी धर्माधर्मज्ञानार्थो विद्याद् अनयेति, वार्ता लाभार्थो विन्दत्यनयेति, दण्डनीतिः सत्तापादनार्थो विद्यते अनया रक्षणयोगात् । (*Jaya.* p. 10) and विद्यादिति—विचारयेत, जानीयात्, लभेत, सत्तापादनेन विद्यमानं कुर्याद् इत्यासां विद्यात्वं........धातुचतुष्टयोत्पादनाभिधानत्वात् । (*Notes* 4, Ibid.)

(iii) इतिवृत्तं नयापनयाभ्यां संपत्तिविपत्तिप्रदर्शनफलं रामायण-भारतादि । (*Jaya.* p. 16) and इति राज्ञो वृत्तं नयानयाम्यां संपत्तिविपत्ति-प्रदर्शनार्थं भारतरामायणादि । (*Notes* 11, p. 9)

(iv) साधुधार्मिकं साधुं धार्मिकं चेति । क्रियाविशेषणं वा साधु शोभनं प्रतिपादयामः । (*Jaya*, p. 32) and साधुधार्मिकं कर्मधारयोऽत्र । अथवा साध्विति क्रियाविशेषणम् । (*Notes* 1, p. 16)

1. *Cf.* the *Nītinirnīti* p. 2 and the *Marginal Notes*, p. 56.

Judging from the extent of the fragment which amounts to about 3000 granthas or groups of thirty two syllables, we shall not be wrong in surmising that the complete commentary was a voluminous one. Aruṇagirinātha (1300 A.D.), a South Indian commentator on the *Raghuvaṁśa* says in the beginning of his commentary, "all that the sage Viṣṇumitra wrote in his work of 180 prakaraṇas, from out of the ocean of the *Arthaśāstra*, most of it is illustrated in the *Raghuvaṁśa*"[1]. He quotes copiously from the *Arthaśāstra*, and his quotation from the commentary of Bhaṭṭa(svāmin) is traceable in the extant fragment.[2]

An old Malayalam commentary on the first seven Books of the *Arthaśāstra* is also available from Kerala[3]. It follows in the line of Bhaṭṭa. and draws from other sources, as and when neccessary; however, in the absence of its Sanskrit original, it may be taken as a substitute. It is written in an archaic Tamil-Malayalam dialect of the West Coast speech which is said to represent the transitional stage from its parent stock in the twelfth century A.D. It holds a store of information to the students of the *Arthaśāstra* and Dravidian linguistic studies, and has rendered considerable help to the Trivandrum editor, "in determining the correct readings and in understanding the text",[4] though for several reasons, he was not able to utilise it to the best advantage.

Not much is known about the commentator Bhaṭṭa. However, one of his metrical quotations of unknown origin[5]

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1. शतं प्रकरणानां यत् साशीति कृतवान् मुनिः ।
विष्णुगुप्तोऽर्थशास्त्राब्धेस्तत् प्रायोऽत्र निदर्शितम् ॥
(Mangalodayam Press, Trichur.)

2. *Cf.* भिण्डिपालः, कुन्त एव पृथुफल इति भट्टस्वामी । (*Raghuvaṁśaprakāśikā*, IV. 77. Mangalodayam Press, Trichur) and भिण्डिपालः, कुन्त एव पृथुफलः । (*Pratipadapañcikā*, Ms. p. 362, with the editor.)

3. The first three Books are published in Trivandrum and a critical edition of Books IV to VII by K.N. Ezhuthachan M.A., University of Madras, 1960.

4. It is not correct to brush aside, as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has done, 'that this Malayalam commentary was to Ganapati Sastri's work what the substance is to its shadow'. (Indian Culture Vol. I, p. 537.)

5. राजा भूमेः पतिर्दृष्टः शास्त्रज्ञैरुदकस्य च ।
ताभ्यामन्यत्तु यद् द्रव्यं तत्र स्वाम्यं कुटुम्बिनाम् ॥
(II. 24, Ms. p. 408, with the editor.)

has figured largely in the discussion on the royal ownership of land in Ancient India[1]. He explains the term 'caurṇeya' II. 11 as "pearl from the river Cūrṇī by the side of the port town Muraci in the Kerala country[2]." Muraci is now identified with Muziris of Ptolemy, a port town near the mouth of the Periyar river in Kerala. He tells us that the term 'mūrvā' II. 17 is "known as *maral* among Dramiḍas"[3]; in Tamil literature 'maral' is known as a plant, from the fibre of which bow-strings are made.[4] He renders 'patraka' II. 15 as 'cāṅgerikā';[5] the latter term occurs, in the Bhāsa plays *Avimāraka*[6] and *Cārudatta*,[7] in the *Vīṇāvāsavadatta*[8] and in the *Daśakumaracarita*[9] in the sense of "a

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1. I.H.Q. V. p. 658, *et seq.*

2. चौर्णेयं केरलेषु मुरचिपत्तनसमीपे चूर्णी नाम नदी, तस्यां जातम् । (Ms. p. 263.)

3. मूर्वा मरल् इति द्रमिडेषु प्रतीता । (Ms. p. 352.)

4. *Kalittokai*, p. 6.

5. पत्रकं चाङ्गेरिका । (Ms. p. 339.) *Cf.* पात्रकः काष्ठविदलादिपात्रम् । (*Cāṇ. ṭī.* p. 173), *பத்ரகமாவிது கூடெப்பொளி கொண்டு தான் மரம் கொண்டுதான் செய்விது,* "vessel made of split bamboos or wood" (Mal. com. Ms. p. 339), and पात्रकः...... कर्परे तु पुमानयम् । (Keśavasvāmin)

6. (ततःप्रविशति चाङ्गेरिकाहस्ता मागधिका ।)
विलासिनी—मागधिके! तिष्ठ तिष्ठ ।
मागधिका—हला! मा वारय, भर्तृदारिकायै सुमनोवर्णकं मयानीयते ।
विलासिनी—किं भर्तृदारिकायाः सुमनोवर्णकेन वा अलंकारेण वा ।
मागधिका—अविनीते! मा अमङ्गलं भण । सततालंकृता भर्तृदारिका भवतु । (TSS. No. 20, p. 54).

7. (ततः प्रविशति बलिमुपहरन् नायको विदूषकः चाङ्गेरिकाहस्ता चेटी च) (TSS. No. 39, p. 8).

8. (प्रविश्य चाङ्गेरिकाहस्तश्चेटः ।)
चेटः—जयतु भर्ता । इदं पुष्पम् ।
यौगन्धरायणः—(प्रतिगृह्य देवतामर्चयति) Supplement to J.O.R., Vol. XXX, p. 52.

9. वासताम्बूलपट्टांशुकयुगलभूषणावयवगर्भां च (व?चा)ङ्गेरिकाम् । (N. S. edn., p. 123). In the revised edn. of the *Daśakumāra*. BSS. No. 42, p. 60 (1919), Agashe gives vaṅgolikā, caṅgorikā, caṅkarikā and cāmpaṭikā as the variants of vaṅgerikā. It appears sampuṭikā (=basket), a common term used in ordinary daily life of people, has by long usage become corrupted into cāṅgerikā.

small vessel to hold flowers, unguents and other articles for worship or decoration". It has to be mentioned here that the circulation of all the above works has been confined to the Kerala country for the past several centuries.

Commenting on 'rasapāka' II. 12 "smelting of mercury", Bhaṭṭa. says that mercurial preparations are dealt with in *Rasopaniṣad*[1]. A work of this title on alchemic compounds has been published in Trivandram Sanskrit Series, No. 92 (1928). This work begins by saying that it is an abridgement of several ancient treatises on the subject[2]; and, in its last section called *Dhātukalpa* "a tract on mineral ores" there occurs a passage[3] which looks exactly the same as the following formula in the *Arthaśāstra*, for softening hard metal ores:

मधु मधुकमजापयः सतैलं घृतगुलकिण्वयुतं सकन्दलीकम् ।
यदपि शतसहस्रधा विभिन्नं भवति मृदु त्रिभिरेव तन्निषेकैः ॥ II. 12

"The hard metal, even though split into a hundred thousand parts is rendered soft, when it is soaked thrice in the mixture made up of honey, madhuka, sheep's milk, sesamum oil, clarified butter, kiṇva and kandalī." As Kauṭalya admits that he has drawn most of his materials from the works of his predecessors, the above stanza (in Aupacchandasika) is certainly a quotation in his *Arthaśāstra* from one of the ancient treatises on alchemy from which the *Rasopaniṣad* says it extracted its contents. Some technical terms on mineralogy, as for instance, asthituttha II. 13 "crucible made of burnt mud and powdered bones of cows and buffaloes," are also traceable in the work.[4]

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1. रसज्ञानं रसबन्धज्ञानं रसोपनिषदाख्यम् ।....रसस्य वा पाकः पचनं द्रव्यान्तरोपयोगेन मारणजारणरञ्जनादिज्ञानम् । (Ms. p. 284).

2. प्राभृते वातुले ब्राह्मे वैष्णवैन्द्रे च शाङ्करे ।
बृहस्पतिमते शौक्रे यत् सारं तदिहोच्यते ॥ (I. 14, p. 2).

3. मधु मधूकमजापयः सतैलं घृतगुलकिण्वयुतं सकन्दलीकम ।
यदपि शतसहस्रधा विभिन्नं भवति मृदु त्रिसप्त (?) तन्निषेका(त्) ॥ (p. 193).

4 गवास्थिमहिषास्थीनि दग्ध्वा मृत्तिकया सह । अस्थितुत्थमिदम् ......। (TSS. No. p. 192), and अस्थितुत्थम् , अस्थिचूर्णमिश्रमृत्तिका मूषा । (Bhaṭṭa. Ms. p. 192).

By way of digression, mention may be made of a reference to a source of gold ores found in the *Rasopaniṣad*; it runs thus: "In the village called *Prīti*, not far from the sea, in the southern forest country of the king of Kerala, there are pebbles of gold ores of the shape of long pepper, 'pippalisaṁsthāna;' these pebbles should be collected with care and reduced to a soft powder".[1] The text then describes the technique of converting the powder into fine gold, 'pippalikriyā'. The gold ores of the shape of 'pippali' recalls to mind the account of gold-digging ants, 'pipīlikās,' in India of Herodotus[2] and other Greek writers and the mention of gold gathered by ants, 'pipīlikoddhṛta,' in the *Mahābhārata*.[3] Apart from this reference, there is reason to believe that there were extensive gold mines in Kerala, and evidence to show that the rulers of the country levied a tax on washing for gold, 'ponnarippu (Tamil)'.[4] Kauṭayla also knows of the king getting all the gems and two thirds of other valuables from sifters and dust-washers of gold ores.[5] It has to be remembered here that the place

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1. दक्षिणे केरलेन्द्रस्य राष्ट्रे वनसमाकुले ।
नातिदूरे समुद्रस्य ग्रामे प्रीतिसमाह्वये ॥
त(त?ता): पिप्पलिसंस्थाना: पाषाणा हेमधातव: ।
तानादाय प्रयत्नेन श्लक्ष्णचूर्णानि कारयेत् ॥ p. 76..

2. *Cf.* *i.* Gk. *peperi* of oriental origin, *ii.* 'The account of the ants who throw up mounds of gold dust which afterwards became a permanent element in the classic conception of India, was given in full by Herodotus......When Herodotus says that the ants were of the size of dogs and fiercely attacked any one carrying off the gold, it has been plausibly suggested that the account was derived from people who had been chased by the formidable dogs kept by the native miners'. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 356, (1962) and *iii.* 'Two Ant-Stories from the Territory of the ancient kingdom of Western Tibet'. *J.R.A.S.*, 1925, p. 372.

3. तद् वै पिपीलिकं नाम उद्धृतं यत् पिपीलकैः ।
जातरूपं द्रोणमेयम् अहार्षुः पुञ्जशो नृपाः ॥ II.52.4, Poona edn., with the com. of Nīlakaṇṭha, 1929.

4. See, *History of Kerala*, by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, Vol. I, pp. 111-2; Ernakulam, 1924.

5. सरकपांसुधावकाः सारत्रिभागं लभेरन् । द्वौ राजा रत्नं च । IV. 1, and (सरकपांसुधावकाः) ये पांसून् सुवर्णमिश्रान् जलेन क्षालयन्ति । *Cāṇ. ṭī.*, p. 157.

where the manuscript of the *Rasopaniṣad* was found is the archives of one of the eight ancient medical families of Kerala, known as 'Aṣṭavaidyas'.

Bhaṭṭa explains 'hastiyuddha' II.32, as "training elephants to fight against other elephants by placing a heap of straw in between them," and observes that it is known as 'lālāpiṇḍika'.[1] If this expression is a wrong reading of lālāpaṇḍika, then it must be a Dravidian word meaning "festival of Lālās," a class of Northerners who migrated into the South[2]. Commenting on the statement of Kauṭalya 'The Superintendent of cattle shall cause the wool of sheep and other animals to be collected, once in six months.' II. 29, Bhaṭṭa remarks, 'It is well known that there is a country where fur grows on even sheep and other animals ;'[3] and on 'The Superintendent of the treasury shall be conversant with remedies against destructive insects.[4]' II.11, he mentions 'kasārikā' which means "cockroach" in Gujarati,[5] as one of them. He quotes from previous commentators with the words *'eke' 'apare,' 'kecit'* and so on; and from Manu II. 136, and Bhāmaha II. 1, without mentioning the authors. He is quoted, as already said, (*ante* p. 10) by Aruṇagirinātha, a predecessor of Mallinātha; and some of his explanations and quotations are in common with the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* From the above data in the extant fragment of the probably big work of Bhaṭṭa, we can deduce this much that he was conversant with the language of the Tamil-Malayalam country, that he did not belong to the Northern count-

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1. हस्तियुद्धं हस्तिभिः सह वरण्डकाभ्रान्तरितैर्युद्धं प्रसिद्धलालापिण्डिकाख्यम् । Ms. with the editor, p. 462.

2. For a description of the elephant fight in the erstwhile Gwalior State, see 'Mattavāraṇi' in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Bhubaneshwar, 1959, Vol. II. pt. I, pp. 363-4. Mr. V. Ramasubramaniyam, formerly of the K.S.R. Institute, Madras reports that he saw in the Raja Kelkar Museum of Poona an exhibit in marble of two elephants fighting each other with some substance placed in between them and that he was informed by the Founder-Director that the specimen was brought from Gwalior.

3. अजादीनामपि कचिद् देशे रोमवृद्धिर्भवतीति प्रसिद्धिः ।। Ms. p. 454.

4. हिंस्राणां कसारिकादीनां प्रतिक्रियाम् । Ms. p. 283.

5. See note by Jayaswal and Banerjee Sastri, on the commentary of Bhaṭṭa. *JBORS*, 1925, p. 47.

ries famous for wool, and that he lived before the thirteenth century A.D. The lower limit of his date is in keeping with the date, the middle of the thirteenth century, claimed on linguistic grounds[1] for the Malayalam commentary on the *Artha-śāstra.*

Let us consider the interpretations of a few passages in the commentary of Bhaṭṭa, when compared with the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* and their bearing on the constitution and interpretation of the text. Bhaṭṭa reads,

विषण्नाडिकम् उभयतोरात्रं यामतूर्यम । तूर्यशब्दे राज्ञो गृहाभ्याशे सपादपणम् अक्षणताडनं प्रथमपश्चिमयामिकम । II. 36, and interprets as "The beating of the watch-drum prohibiting movement precludes a period of six nāḍikās at both ends of the night (anujñātakāla), and the remaining one and a half nāḍikās (36 minutes) of the first and the last quarters of the night are prohibited period (akṣaṇakāla); hearing the sound of the drum, whoever moves in the vicinity of royal buildings, during the prohibited period shall be punished with a fine of one paṇa and a quarter".[2] 'Akṣaṇa' in the sense of "prohibited period" as taken by Bhaṭṭa is not sanctioned by usage and the adverbial phrase 'viṣaṇṇāḍikam' (excluding six nāḍikas) seems to be laboured and exceptional in the *Artha-śāstra.* The *Cāṇ. ṭī.* reads 'rakṣaṇa' (in the sense of protected area) in the place of 'akṣaṇa' and 'ṣaṇṇāḍikam' (six nāḍikās) instead of 'viṣaṇṇāḍikam'; it explains: "The watch-drum shall be sounded for a period of first three nāḍikās of the first and the last quarters of the night; hearing the sound, whoever

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1. See p. XXXV, Intro. to Bhāṣākauṭalīyam, University of Madras, 1960.

2. यामतूर्यमिति । यमनं यामः सञ्चारनिरोध इत्यर्थः, तच्चिह्नं तूर्यं यामतूर्यमिति । तदुभयतोरात्रं विषण्नाडिकं कुर्यात् । रात्रेरादितः षट्सु नाडिकासु अपक्रान्तासु(षट्सु च) शिष्टासु विरमेदित्यर्थः, यामतूर्ये दत्ते सर्वोऽपि न संपतेदिति । तूर्यशब्द इति, तस्मिन् तूर्यशब्दे वर्तमाने राजाभ्याशे अन्तर्नगरे । सपादपणम् अक्षणताळनमिति, ताळनं ताडनं तेन च दण्डो लक्ष्यते । क्षणोऽनुज्ञातः काळः, अक्षणो निषिद्धः । तन्निमित्तो दण्डः अक्षणताळनं तत् प्रथमपश्चिमयामिकं प्रथमपश्चिमयोः अनुज्ञातषण्नाडिकावशिष्टकाळिकं सपादपणं भवति । तद्यथा—प्रथमस्यादौ पश्चिमस्यान्ते च षण्नाडिका वर्जयित्वा अवशिष्टकाळविषयमेतद्दण्डविधानमिति । Ms. p. 498.

moves near the gate of royal buildings shall be punished" and so on—as before[1].

According to Bhaṭṭa, moving near royal buildings is permitted during a period of six nāḍikās at both ends of the night, but the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* says it is punishable to move during the first and the last quarter of the night. The Malayalam commentary takes '(r)akṣaṇadviguṇo daṇḍah' II.36, which occurs a little further on, as "twice the amount of fine levied for movement in a protected area[2]" and '(r)akṣaṇagṛhītāyāṁ āryāyām ' IV. 9, as "an Ārya woman arrested for movement in a protected locality.[3]" Thus 'rakṣaṇa' in the passage seems to be a better and original reading. The *Vaijayantī* of Yādava has 'sāyaṁ tūrye'kṣatāḍanaṁ' (=Akṣatāḍanaṁ means the beating of the evening drum), it is not known if this line of the lexicon has anything to do with the passage under consideration. The text is corrupt in the manuscript of the *Cāṇ. ṭī.*, the reading 'rakṣaṇa' is, however, unmistakable. 'Tāḍana' means "beating", this term occurs but once in the *Arthaśāstra*, in the sense of "fine"; it is probable that 'rakṣaṇatāḍanam' was a term of current use signifying "fine for moving in a prohibited area," during the time of Kauṭalya.

According to the *Cāṇ. ṭī.*, the passage, अभ्रपटलम् अष्टकेन[17] द्विगुणवास्तुके वा रूपे बध्यते । तस्य पिहितकाचस्य उदके निमज्जत एकदेशः सीदति । पटलान्तेषु वा सूच्या भिद्यते, शब्दायते । II. 14, means "To find out whether a layer of mica is fastened by means of 'aṣṭaka,'[4] in between two plates of an article made of double base, put the article in water; and, if any part of it floats, that

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1. षण्नालिकमुभयत इति, प्रदोषे नालिकात्रयं पश्चार्धे नालिकात्रयम् इति उभयतो रात्रेः षण्नालिकाः ।......परस्य तूर्यशब्दे कृतेऽपि प्रथमपश्चिमयोर्द्वारदेशे प्रसिद्धे (र)क्षणे सञ्चारे यत् ताडनं सञ्चरतो ग्रहणं तत्र सपादपणो दण्डः । p. 210.

2. காவலில் பருமாறின்றவரள்க்கு கீழ்சொன்னதில் இருமடங்கு தண்டம். Ms. p.501.

3. காவலில் பருமாறிய குலஸ்திரீ பிடிக்கப்பட்டவளை. Ms. p. 718.

4. 'Aṣṭaka,' means "that which consists of eight parts." The *Cāṇ. ṭī.* takes as "a glutinous substance like lac"; Bhaṭṭa, "lac, the resin of the Sāla tree and so on"; and the Malayalam commentary, 'aṣṭabandha' meaning "kind of cement made of light ingredients, and applied to fix a stone image firmly at the base".

part is to be understood as containing mica inside. This is one test; the other is, to pierce the interior part of the article with a sharp needle, when the mica being pierced makes (a rustling) sound.[1]

Kauṭalya uses 'kāca' in more than one sense. He says that gems other than those mentioned by name in II. 11. are 'kācamaṇis', which the *Cāṇ.ṭī* explains "those that look like the above-mentioned gems in colour and glitter,"[2] (imitation gems ?). Again, he translates the word 'kṣepaṇa' in II. 13, into 'kācārpaṇa' meaning "setting gem in an article of gold and silver;" the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* remarks that the word 'kāca' is used here collectively, as but an illustration, and it includes gem, pearl, diamond or coral.[3]" In the Tamil classical poem *Śilappatikāram*[4] we have 'kevaṇa,' the Dravidian form of 'kṣepaṇa' meaning "bed for gem in gold ornament;"[5] an anklet in gold is described in it, as having gem and diamond set in a row on its outer surface. Kāca is also used to express trick and fraud practised by artisans in gold work, in II. 14.[6]

In the passage under reference, the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* renders 'apihitakāca' into "an article of gold containing mica (abhra) hidden inside," while Bhaṭṭa. reads 'vihitakāca', drops out the last word 'śabdāyate' and interprets the second test to mean "In gold ornament of double plates set with gems, if mica be fixed

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1. अभ्रपटलमिति । द्विगुणवास्तुके संयूह्यकटकादिरूपे तदन्तरे अभ्रपटलं तत्प्रमाणं यत्प्रमाणम् अपहर्तुमिष्टं द्रव्यम् अष्टकेन बध्यते । तस्य अपिहितकाचस्य प्रच्छन्नमायस्य रूपस्य उदके निमज्जतः, एकदेशः यत्र अभ्रपटलं नास्ति, स सीदति । अपरः प्लवते इत्यर्थः । इयं तावदेका परीक्षा । पटलान्तेषु वा तीक्ष्णया सूच्या भिद्यते, तत्र रूपमिति शेषः । यत्राभ्रपटलं तद् भिद्यमानं शब्दायते । p. 165.

2. शेषाः काचमणय इति । यथोक्तमणिरागप्रभानुकारिण इत्यर्थः । p. 143.

3. काचार्पणादीनि काचोऽर्प्यते यस्मिन् मणिर्मुक्ता वज्रः प्रवालो वा अवबध्यत इति, उदाहरणार्थत्वात् काचस्य । p. 157.

4. மத்தக மணியொடு வயிரங் கட்டிய பத்திக் கேவணப்
பசும்பொற் குடைச்சூற் சித்திரச் சிலம்பு. 16. 117-9.

5. Even today Tamilian goldsmiths use the term 'kemaṇam' in the same sense.

6. काचशब्दो मायायामपि दृष्टः 'शरावमग्निष्ठमिति काचम् ।' II. 14, *Cāṇ. ṭī.* p. 143. and काचाश्रयत्वात् काचं छलं विद्यत् *Ibid.* p. 166.

in between and covered with other layers, split up the ornament with a needle and find out the mica."[1]

According to the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* the sentence तप्तकलधौतयोः काकणिकः सुवर्णे क्षयो देयः। II. 14 means "when an article of gold is made, a loss of one 'kākaṇi' (one sixty-fourth) in a 'suvarṇa' may be allowed (in favour of artisans), for 'tapta' "smelting" and 'kaladhauta' "purifying of gold."[2] In the lexicon *Amara*, 'kaladhauta' is given the sense of "gold and silver,"[3] and Bhaṭṭa, probably with lexicon consciousness, explains "In the case of impure silver and gold,[4] a loss of one 'kākaṇi' may be allowed." 'Kaladhauta' is found only once in the *Arthaśāstra*. It appears *Amara* is the earliest work that assigns the sense "gold and silver" to the word.

The *Cāṇ. ṭī.* has शीतः तीव्रतररागश्च मणिधातुः, II.12 meaning "The gem-ore is cold to the touch and tinged with the colour of the red-rayed sun"[5], while Bhaṭṭa reads शीततीव्रः तनुरागश्च and renders "cold soon after removal from fire and of light colour."[6] The fact that a gem is described as 'tīvrarāga' "of brilliant colour" in II. 11 seems to favour the reading of the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* Similarly the readings 'vāṅgaka' II.11, "agaru from the Vāṅga-Samataṭa country[7]", and 'āntaravantya' II.11, "bhadraśrīya perfume from the mid-regions of the Avanti country"[8] of the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* seem respectively better than 'doṅgaka', "agaru from Kāmarūpa"[9] and 'āntaravatya' "bhadraśriya from the bank

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1. विहितकाचस्येति, तस्य मणिप्रत्युप्तस्य सुवर्णाभरणादेः अर्पितकाचमण्यादिमतः......पटलान्तरेषु व्यवधायकेषु सत्सु तदन्तर्गताभ्रपटलपरिज्ञानार्थं तदाभरणं सूच्या भिद्यते। Ms. p. 320.

2. तप्तकलधौतयोरिति। तापनं तप्तं मृजार्थं धौतं कलधौतम्। p. 161.

3. कलधौतं रूप्यहेम्नोः। III. 3. 74.

4. तप्तम् अशुद्धं सुवर्णं कलधौतं रूप्यम्। Ms. p. 314.

5. शीतः स्पर्शतः, तीव्रतररागः लोहितादित्यस्य रागेणोपदिग्धो मणिधातुः। p. 151.

6. शीततीव्रः अग्नेरपनीतः शीघ्रं शीतीभवति। स्वतोऽतिशीत इत्यपरे। तनुरागः स्वल्परागो मणिधातुः। Ms. p. 292.

7. अगरुसारमाह......वङ्गदेशभवं वाङ्गकं समतटभवम्। p. 145.

8. भद्रश्रीयं जातिनाम गन्धद्रव्यस्येदम्।....आन्तरवन्त्यम् अवन्तीनाम् अन्तराले जातम्। *Ibid.*

9. दोङ्गकम्......कामरूपजम्। Ms.p.275.

of the river Antaravatī in Kāmarūpa"[1] of Bhaṭṭa. So far as I know, there seems to be no locality or river of the names 'Doṅga' or 'Antaravatī', in Kāmarūpa.

'Madhyamarāṣṭraka,' one of the six kinds of diamond in II.11 is rendered by Bhaṭṭa as "diamond from Kosala"[2] and by the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* "that from the Kalinga country and known as 'Bhogavatī' in that country's local dialect."[3] A plausible explanation as to how the diamond of Kalinga came to be called 'Bhogavatī' seems to be in this wise.

Bhogavatī is described as the capital city of serpents of the subterranean world (nāgaloka) in the *Mahābhārata*[4] and as the great city of serpents near Agastya's bhavana in the Kuñjara mountain in the south, in the *Rāmāyaṇa.*[5] In epigraphy, the kings of Nāgavaṁśa who were ruling in the eleventh century A.D., with tiger crest and snake banner, over the regions now covered by the Bastar state (in the modern Madhya-pradesh), call themselves 'Bhogavatīpuravareśvaras' "the lords of the great city of Bhogavatī,"[6] one of them claiming to have overrun the neighbouring city 'Vajrasaṁbhavapura' "the city of the diamond field"; and in another inscription 'Cakrakoṭyamaṇḍala' occurs as a territorial division of this kingdom.[7] The king Rajendra Cola I (1012-45 A.D.) in his expedition to the Ganges is said to have invaded Śakkarakkoṭṭam and other places in Māśuṇi-deśam in the Oḍḍa (Kalinga) country.[8] This Māśuṇideśam meaning

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1. भद्रश्रियमित्यादि..... आन्तरवत्यं कामरूपेष्वेव अन्तरवत्यभिधान-नदीकूलजम् । Ms. p. 276.

2. मध्यमराष्ट्रकं कोसलोद्भवम् । Ms. p. 270.

3. तज्जुमाराष्ट्रकम् (?) कलिङ्गोद्भवं भोगव(ली? ती)ति देशभाषया । p. 143.

4. इयं भोगवती नाम पुरी वासुकिपालिता ।
याद्दशी देवराजस्य पुरी वर्यामरावती ॥
V. 103. 1., Poona edn., 1931.

5. तत्र नेत्रमनःकान्तः कुञ्जरो नाम पर्वतः ।
अगस्त्यभवनं यत्र निर्मितं विश्वकर्मणा ।
... ... ... ...
तत्र भोगवती नाम सर्पाणाम् आलयः पुरी ॥ IV. 41.35-7.

6. *Epi. Ind.* IX. pp. 161.—4.

7. *Ibid.* pp. 178-9.

8. K.A.N. Sastri. *The Colas* Vol. I. pp. 248-9.

"the country of the snakes" in Tamil is identified with 'Nāgaloka' (the Bastar State) and Śakkarakkoṭṭam with Cakrakoṭyamaṇḍala, a division of that kingdom.[1] The Tamil poem *Kaliṅkattupparaṇi* canto. X, describing an invasion of the Kalinga country by the Generalissimo of Kulottunga Cola I (1115 A.D.) refers to the places Vayirākaram and Śakkarakkoṭṭam.

*Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara (1130 A.D.) says that, in the kṛta age was produced diamond in Kosala and, in the kali age in Vairākara and Sopāra.[2] Besides, 'Wairagarh' the diamond field of the ancient and medieval ages, is said to be found not far away from Śakkarakkoṭṭam now called Citrakūṭa in the Bastar[3] State. All these reference, staken together, point to the conclusion that 'Vajrasaṁbhavapura,' 'Vairākara' and 'Wairagarh' were one and the same diamond field and that the diamond produced in it was called Bhogavatī through constant association with the nearby city Bhogavatī in the Bastar region. It may be noted here that most of the precious things to be kept in the treasury 'kośapraveśya' in II. 11 derive their names from the places of their origin.

The *Cāṇ. ṭī.* takes **वधः परिक्लेशोऽर्थहरणं दण्डः।** II.10, as "mutilation of a limb, detention, inflicting pain on human body, by crushing the flesh with fingers and so on, and procedural taking of property or otherwise, make up punishment;"[4] while Bhaṭṭa, "killing, tormenting and taking property is punishment".[5] It must be noted that 'vadha' does not always mean "killing" and may mean "mutilation" also. The *Jaya.* gives similar sense to the root *han* 'to kill' of which 'vadha' is a substitute when it renders **त्यक्तं गूढपुरुषाः शस्त्ररसाभ्यां हन्युः।** I, 18. as "For the security of the king and the subjects, the secret agents directed by the king shall *disable* the prince

1. *J.O.R.* Vol. VII, pp. 208-9.
2. कृते युगे कलिङ्गेषु कोसले वज्रसंभवः ।
वैराकरे च सोपारे कलौ हीरकसंभवः ॥ IV. 403-4.
3. *Cf.* 'prāstara' "ore in stones" in II. 12., and 'prastara' meaning "gem" in lexicons.
4. प्रशातनम् एकाङ्गस्य वधः । संरोधोऽङ्गुलिसन्दंशादिश्च परिक्लेशः । अर्थहरणं शास्त्रोक्तम् अनुक्तं वा अर्थादानम् । p. 138.
5. वधो घातः । परिक्लेशो यातना । अर्थहरणं वित्तादानम् । Ms. p. 258.

who is of improper conduct and irreconcilable, with weapon or poison."[1]

The sentence गृहीत्वा वेतनं कर्माकुर्वत्याः अङ्गुष्ठसन्दंशं दापयेत् । II.23. is rendered by the *Cāṇ.ṭī* "If a woman after receiving wages does not carry out the work, (the Superintendent of weaving) shall cause to inflict pain on her, by compressing her flesh by two thumbs[2] (sandaṁśa[3] lit. biting)." But Bhaṭṭa. takes "The Superintendent shall cause to cut the thumb and the tip of middle finger of her right hand etc."[4]. Here the predicate 'dāpayet' can be the causal potential of the root *dā* 'to give' or *do* 'to cut' and the commentator seems to have understood the latter. It may however be noted that no formation from this root is found anywhere else in the *Arthaśāstra.*

Spinning women are represented in the *Arthaśāstra* as receiving special consideration; they are encouraged with gift of oil and unguents of 'āmalak,' for finer and greater quantity of outturn[5], and their virtue guarded by prescribing deterrant punishment for male members of the staff who seek to encroach on their private matters.[6]. Besides, punishment enjoined almost in similar words for a male labourer not doing the work after receiving wages is only a fine of twelve paṇas and detention till the work is done.[7] It is therefore

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1. दुर्वृत्तत्वात् त्यक्तमसन्धेयं गूढपुरुषाः आत्मनः प्रजानाञ्च क्षेमार्थं राज्ञा प्रयुक्ताः शस्त्ररसाभ्यां हन्युः विकलीकुर्युः । p. 63.

2. अङ्गुष्ठसन्दंशमिति । अङ्गुष्ठाभ्यां सन्दंशं दापयेत् कर्मप्रतिपत्त्रा । p. 200.

3. Sandaṁśa is rendered "thumb and forefinger resembling a pair of tongs" by *Mitākṣara* on *Yājña.* II. 274., and 'sandaṁśa-hasta' "the hand pose formed by joining the index finger and the thumb" in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* IX. 110.

4. अङ्गुष्ठसन्दंशं दक्षिणहस्ताङ्गुष्ठं मध्यमाङ्गुल्यग्रं च दापयेत् प्रणयेत् । Ms. p. 396.

5. सूत्रस्य प्रमाणं ज्ञात्वा तैलामलकोद्वर्तनैरेता अनुगृह्णीयात् । II. 23.

6. स्त्रिया मुखसन्दर्शने अन्यकार्यसंभाषायां च पूर्वः साहसदण्डः । *Ibid.* and अन्यस्य कार्यस्य, कियन्तं कालं प्रोषितभर्तृका भवती इत्यादेरपि संभाषायाम् । *Cāṇ. ṭī.* p. 200.

7. गृहीत्वा वेतनं कर्म अकुर्वतो भृतकस्य द्वादशपणो दण्डः, संरोधश्च आ करणात् । III. 14.

unlikely that punishment for similar dereliction on the part of a spinning woman should be forfeiture of her thumb[1] which is vital to her living.

It is strange there is no reference to the sandaṁśa mode of corporal punishment in the extant Śmṛtis and Dharmaśāstras. It may not be out of place to mention a statement from the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana which seems to have bearing on the point in question. Vātsyāyana says that southerners in sexual act indulge in sandaṁśikā,[2] which the *Jaya.* commentary explains "pulling and crushing the flesh of the breast and the adjoining regions of woman with the fore-finger and the thumb or with the fore-finger and the middle finger[3]" and that the act, causing pain, is not proper for an Ārya and must be condemned."

According to Bhaṭṭa. and the manuscripts, the stanza

दिवसे पञ्चरात्रे वा बन्धनस्थान् विमोचयेत् ।
कर्मणा कायदण्डेन हिरण्यानुग्रहेण च ॥ II. 36.

lays down 'kāyadaṇḍa' meaning "inflicting corporal punishment" as one of the conditions for release of prisoners from jail, every day or every five days. But it does not seem probable that whipping a prisoner 'bandhanastha' was an alternative of keeping him under iron, as no purpose is served by flogging him and setting him free. The reading 'kāya-bandha' of the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* seems to give better sense, that is, "the prisoner binding himself by an agreement to do physical work, in lieu of imprisonment." It has to be noted here that the jail delivery prescribed in the stanza under consideration presupposes material gain to the state, along with ransom in cash.

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1. *Cf.* (The Superintendent of weaving) had large powers of levying fines and awarding bodily punishments *e.g.* if a woman refused to work after receiving the wages he could cut off her thumb (? or bind up her thumb with the index finger so as to form a pair of tongs). P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III. pp. 146-7.

2. सन्दंशिकां स्तनयोः पार्श्वयोश्चेति पूर्वैः सह प्रहणनमष्टविधमिति दाक्षिणात्यानाम् । ......कष्टमनार्यवृत्तमनादृतमिति वात्स्यायनः । II. 7. 24-5.

3. मुष्टिरेव तर्जन्यङ्गुष्ठकाभ्यां तर्जनीमध्यमाभ्यां वा सन्दंशनात् सन्दंशिका । तया स्तनयोः पार्श्वयोश्च मलनपूर्वकं मांसस्याकर्षणमेव ताडनम् ।

Bhaṭṭa renders the latter part of the previous passage, पुण्यशीलाः समयानुबन्धाद् वा दोषनिष्क्रयं दद्युः, "Those who are charitably disposed and happen to be in prison by some fault may redeem themselves by giving surety for their future conduct and paying adequate ransom in cash".[1] This however seems to be unlikely; for, as stated early any prisoner is at liberty to liberate himself, every day or every five days by paying ransom. The *Cāṇ.ṭī.* seems to understand "Those prisoners who are charitably disposed and who form into an association to do charitable work, may deliver themselves from prison, by giving surety or making statement on oath."[2] Therefore it may be assumed that the jail delivery, on the birth asterism of the king and so on, laid down in the previous passage, and that on the conquest of fresh territory and so on, in the following stanza were for the advancement of religious merit[3]. In the list of Government servants receiving fixed salaries in V. 2, Kauṭalya mentions 'viṣṭibandhaka' on a salary of sixty paṇas; this state employee seems to be a contractor or overseer of labour and connected with the 'labour in lieu of imprisonment" under reference.

The passage चतुर्दण्डान्तरा रथ्याः । राजमार्गद्रोणमुख-स्थानीय-राष्ट्र-विवीतपथाः......अष्टदण्डाः । II. 4 is taken to mean "Roads shall be four daṇḍas in width, the royal roads, roads in droṇamukha and so on, shall be eight daṇḍas in width.". The *Cāṇ.ṭī.* reads चतुर्दण्डोत्तराः रथ्या-राजमार्ग-द्रोणमुख-स्थानीय-राष्ट्र-विवीतपथाः । and renders "Roads shall be four daṇḍas (in width), the royal roads eight daṇḍas, roads in droṇamukha twelve daṇḍas and so on, each succeeding road being wider than the previous one by four daṇḍas[4]". Thus 'vivītapatha' "the

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1. पुण्यशीला धार्मिकाः तेषामपि यदि कदाचित् केनचिद्दोषेण बन्धनागारप्रवेशः प्राप्तः, तदा ते समयानुबन्धात् न पुनरेवं करिष्याम इति समयानुबन्धं प्रातिभाव्यादिदानेन कृत्वा दोषनिष्क्रयं बन्धनागारप्रवेशनिमित्तस्य निष्क्रयं दोषानुरूपं हिरण्यदण्डं दद्युः, न बन्धनागारं प्रविशेयुः । Ms. p. 502.

2. पुण्यशीलाः केचित् (स्व)त एव वा प्रातिभाव्यशपथादिना दण्डनिष्क्रयणमाह्वयेयुः तन्निष्क्रयं वा बन्धाद्दद्युः । p. 211.

3. विनापि कर्मणा विष्टिदण्डेन धर्माभिवृद्ध्यर्थं विधीयते । धर्मलाभो ह्यन्येभ्यो लाभेभ्यः श्रेयानिति । *Ibid.*

4. चतुर्दण्डोत्तरा इति चतुर्भिश्चतुर्भिरधिका इत्यर्थः । तत्र रथ्या चतुर्दण्डा । अष्टदण्डो राजमार्गः । p. 108.

road in pasture lands" being twenty four daṇḍas in width will be the widest. 'Antara' in 'caturdaṇḍāntara' means space or distance, but not width as opposed to length. The reading of the commentary seems to receive support from the fact that Kauṭalya prescribes a progressive scale of fines ranging from twelve paṇas to thousand paṇas for blocking roads from "the road for small animals and men " (kṣudrapaśumanuṣya-patha) to "the road in pasture land" (vivītapatha) in III.10.

Bhaṭṭa renders the passage तस्माद् अस्याध्यक्षाः संख्यायक-लेखक-रूपदर्शक-नीवीग्राहकोत्तराध्यक्षसखाः कर्माणि कुर्युः । उत्तराध्यक्षा-हस्त्यश्व-रथारोहाः । II.9, as " Therefore his adhyakṣas (superintendents) shall carry out the works accompanied by accountants, writers, coin-examiners, treasurers and uttarādhyakṣas; uttarādhyakṣas are 'auparikas' who were elephant-drivers, horse-drivers and chariot-drivers disabled in the battle filed."[1] While the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* reads तस्माद् अस्याध्यक्षाः संख्यायक-लेखक-रूपदर्शक-नीवीग्राहकसखाः कर्माणिः कुर्युः । उत्तराध्यक्षाः हस्त्यश्वरथविद्याविदो विद्युः । and understands, "Therefore all adhyakṣas of the king, whether they are posted to offices of great or small source of revenue shall carry out the works, in company with accountants, writers, coin-exminers and treasures; uttarādhyakṣas who are learned in the science of elephants, horses and chariots and who are trainers and care-takers shall take cognizance of the work of adhyakṣas."[2]

There is difference not only in the interpretation of the above passage by the two commentaries, but also in that of the title of the chapter II.9, 'Upayukta-parīkṣā', under which it occurs as a concluding remark. Bhaṭṭa. explains the title to mean "Examining (the work) of 'upayuktas' who are called 'auparikas' (sannidhātṛ, samāhartṛ and others) and who are trustworthy servants of government appointed above adhyakṣas, and also examining (the work) of the latter who

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1. उत्तराध्यक्षा औपरिकाः, तानाह-उत्तराध्यक्षा इत्यादि । हस्त्यश्व-रथारोहाः प्रतीताः । ....तेषां, संग्रामे वा विकलितानाम् अत्र विनियोगः। Ms. p. 238.

2. तस्मादिति निगमयति । ....अस्य एवंविदो राज्ञः, तस्मात् सर्वे महत्यल्पे वा समुदये नियुक्ताः । संख्यायकाद्यविरहिताः कर्माणि कुर्युः ।.... हस्त्यश्वरथविद्याविदः विद्वत्वादेव शिक्षयितारो रक्षयितारश्च उत्तराध्या विद्युः । P. 128.

are inextricably connected with the former;"[1] while the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* takes it as "Examining the work of adhyakṣas other than sannidhātṛ (The Director of Stores) and samāhartṛ (The Collector of Revenue) and also of that of the latter, as necessary".[2] According to Bhaṭṭa. 'upayukta' means "sannidhātṛ and samāhartṛ" who are the two highest officers in the second Book of the *Arthaśāstra*, but the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* seems to take it as 'upa-yukta' (lit. a secondary yukta), yukta meaning differently in accordance with the context, that is, when yukta (officer) stands for sannidhātṛ or samāhartṛ, upayukta denotes an adhyakṣa (Suprintendent) who is their subordinate, but when it is used in the sense of the latter, upayukta denotes accountant, writer and other subordinates.[3] Thus, while according to Bhaṭṭa, the chapter deals mainly with the examination of the work of sannidhātṛ and samāhartṛ and secondarily with that of their subordinate, the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* reverses the order.

It has to be noted here that the term 'auparika' of Bhaṭṭa bears close resemblance to 'uparika' which designates a high officer of the rank of a Governor of a province in Gupta inscriptions.[4] Uparika also occurs in a prose passage of Bṛhaspati quoted by Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya I.307[5], where it seems to mean, a "dignitary whose duty among others is to make judgement in dubious cases in Court of Justice or

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1. उपयुक्ताः औपरिकाः युक्तानाम् उपरि नियुक्ताः प्रत्ययितपुरुषाः । यत्र चैतेऽपि परीक्ष्यन्ते तत्र अन्येषामपि युक्तादीनां दण्डापूपिकान्यायात् परीक्षणमागृहीतम् । . . . अर्थोपधाशुद्धान् समाहर्तृसन्निधात्रादिकर्मसु स्थापयेदित्युक्तम् । न चार्थोपधाशुद्धिमतामपि जानपदादिगुणरहितानां कस्मिंश्चित् कर्मणि नियोगदानं युज्यत इति तत्प्रतिपादनार्थमाह—अमात्यसंपदोपता इत्यादि । Ms. p. 232.

2. उपयुक्तानाम् अध्यक्षाणां परीक्षणमिति प्रकरणमुच्यते । सन्निधातृसमाहर्त्रोः प्रागुक्तत्वात् तदवशिष्टा अध्यक्षा उपयुक्ताः, तेषां परीक्षोच्यते । नियोगात्तावत् पूर्वमुपयुक्ताः परीक्ष्याः किं गुणाः स्युरित्याह—अमात्येति । p. 124.

3. सर्वाधिकरणेष्विति सन्निधात्रादिस्थानेषु अध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तेषु युक्ताः अध्यक्षाः । उपयुक्ता गणकलेखकादयः । p. 103.

4. *Epi. Ind.* XV. p. 130, *Ind. Ant.*, XV. p. 304 etc.

5. *TSS.* No. 74, p. 184.

department,[1]" 'adhikaraṇa-sandigdha-viveka-kṛt'. The gist of the Chapter II.9, as interpreted by the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* may be stated as follows : After selection of amātyas of the highest, the middling and the lowest order, on the merits of their qualifications[2] and after testing secretly their mental attitude 'upadhās', towards each of 'dharma', 'artha', 'kāma' and 'bhaya', those who come out successfull in 'artha-upadhā,' "monetary allurement" are examined in practical work, invariably before being put in charge of offices and even after that[3] as necessary tested by qualified experts and such of them as are found unfit are eliminated. Then they are placed on probation under the supervision of 'uttarādhykṣas' and after service of proved honesty, loyalty and devotion made permanent in their offices, '*nityādhikārāḥ*'.

In a few significant stanzas at the end of the chapter, Kauṭalya observes that it is impossible for the officers (on probation) who handle the money of the king not to taste '*anāsvādayitum na śakyam*' a bit of it, and also for the higher authority to find out how they take the money for themselves. Therefore, it is added that measures should be taken to prevent them from eating up '*na bhakṣayanti*' the state revenue and to make them vomit what they have consumed. Thus it would seem that the author makes distinction between tasting the state fund and eating it up ; this is also evident from his statement[4]: " For the Accounts Officer who licks *avalihataḥ* the balance, the fine is twice the amount; the fine is eight-fold if he eats up the balance,"[5] II. 7.

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1. Probably the term stands for a Tribunal to whom doubtful cases are referred for clarification by the Government or the king.

2. अमात्यसंपदिति, एतत् सर्वमभिधानं यतो निमित्तात् प्रवर्तते तन्निमित्तममात्यसंपदित्यर्थः । अमात्यशब्देन अत्र मन्त्रिणो बुद्धिसचिवस्याभिधानं द्रष्टव्यम् । अत इति गुणविंशतिकात् । पादार्धगुणहीनौ मध्यमावरौ ज्ञेयौ । सर्वगुणस्य उत्तमत्वम् अर्थप्राप्तम् । The *Jaya*, p. 28.

3. कर्मकालात् प्राङ्नियोगात् कर्मकालाद् उत्तरकालञ्च । The *Cāṇ. ṭī.* p. 124.

4. नीवीम् अवलिहतो द्विगुणः, भक्षयतोऽष्टगुणः । II. 7, and अवलिहत इति ईषद् आस्वादयतः । द्विगुण इति अवलीढात् । भक्षयतः लोभात् स्वयम् उपयुञ्जानस्येत्यर्थः । The *Cāṇ. ṭī.* p. 117.

5. All the printed editions read 'avali*kha*tah' which, in the ight of the *Cāṇ. tī.*, may be amended as 'avali*ha*tah'.

We shall now consider a few passages dealing with some points of state administration on which the interpretation of the *Jaya-Cāṇ. ṭī.* throws new light. The *Cāṇ. ṭī.*, connecting the sentence प्रचारसमं महामात्राः समग्राः श्रावयेयुरविषममन्त्राः । II.7, with the previous passage explains, "As the 'kārmika'[1], (The Collector of Revenue and so on), and 'kāraṇika'[2] (Accounts Officer), or 'yukta' (Superintendent) may, with aversion, attachment and so on fill the royal treasury at the expense of the people or win their favour at the cost of the king's revenue, 'mahāmātras' shall report to the king the consensus of their opinion about an officer who has been impartial in the discharge of his duties; for they (the mahāmātras) witness and intervene in all state affairs[3]." Kauṭalya does not say who the mahāmātras were and what duties they discharged However, as 'tīrthas', a group of eighteen functionaries mentioned in I.12 are referred to as mahāmātras[4], they appear to have been a hierarchy of officials in the service of the king[5]. Lexicons give several meanings which have become attached to the name during the course of time, namely, one who is well-versed in elephant lore, expert in elephant training, rider and keeper of elephants, pradhān, minister, one who is great in wealth, status, paraphernalia, ear-rings and so on[6]; some of these meanings are borne out by the following literary references.

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1. कार्मिक इति, कर्मनियुक्ते समाहर्त्रादौ । p. 115.

2. कारणिकस्य करणनियुक्तस्य अक्षपटलिकस्य । *Ibid.*

3. प्रचारसममिति, प्रचारे समवृत्तिम् इच्छाद्वेषरहितम् । कश्चिद् विद्वेषादिभ्योऽधिकम् आदाय संप्रियत्वाप्रियत्वापेक्षयापि राजार्थं पूरयेदेवेति । अथवा प्रचारसमं युक्तं न तदनुरोधाद् राजार्थहापिनम्, न राजार्थोपरोधात् प्रचाराद्रोहिणम् । ईदृशं महामात्राः श्रावयेयुः । अर्थाद् राज्ञ इति गम्यते । ते हि साक्षिभूताः सर्वकार्येष्ववतिष्ठन्ते । *Ibid.*

4. ०आवपेच्चरान् । . . . . तीर्थेष्वष्टादशस्वपि । I. 12. ०कृतमहामात्रापसर्पः । I. 13.

5. मन्त्रिपुरोहितादयः, भर्तृकार्येन् एषु स्थित्वा तरन्तीति तीर्थानि The *Jaya* p. 40.

6. i. महामात्राः प्रधानानि । *Amara*, II. 8-5.

ii. महामात्राः अमात्या इत्येव । महती मात्रा परिच्छद एषाम् । Commentary on the above by Kṣīrasvāmin. *TSS*. 51. p. 53.

iii. 'महामात्रः प्रधाने स्यात् तथा हस्तिपकाभिधे' इति धरणिः । Quoted by Sarvānanda in his *Amara* commentary, *Ibid*.

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vāsavadattā, in order to elope with Udayana mounting on her female elephant causes the mahāmātra with all the attendants on elephants to be drunk. When the elephant is harnessed and they are about to start, the animal utters a cry and the mahāmātra who is conversant with the external and internal guestures of elephants 'dviradengitavit' in his excessive intoxication babbles out "The elephant says she is going sixty three-yojanas today[1]."

In the Udayana story as depicted in the Bhāsa-plays, Pradyota, with a view to capturing Udayana alive, causes an artificial elephant to be made with armed soldiers concealed in it under the leadership of the Brahman mahāmātra Śālankāyana, and the bogus elephant placed in the elephant forest, when Udayana was searching for his lost elephant. This mahāmātra mounts an elephant, encounters Udayana and fights[2].

Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on the *Chāndogya* Upaniṣad explains the word 'ibhya' to mean "the rich or hastyāroha[3]"

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iv. आधोरणा हस्तिपका हस्त्यारोहा निषादिनः । तत्प्रधान महामात्राः । *Vaijayantī.*

v. महामात्रोऽधिकर्धिकः । *Ibid.*

vi. मात्रा कर्णविभूषायां वित्ते माने परिच्छदे । *Medinī.*

vii. महामात्रः समृद्धे चामात्ये हस्तिपकाभिधे । *Ibid.*

viii. मात्रा प्रवृत्तौ कर्णस्य परिष्कारान्तरे धने । परिच्छदे । Keśavasvāmin.

ix. महामात्रः पुनस्त्रिषु, समृद्धे कथितः सद्भिर्हस्त्यारोहाभिधे तु न। *Ibid.*

1. दत्त्वा मद्यं मदान्वितम् ।
सर्वाधोरणसंयुक्तं महामात्रं च साकरोत् ॥
. . . . .
सज्जमाना च सा शब्दं चकार करिणी किल ।
तं च हस्तिरुताभिज्ञो महामात्रोऽथ सोऽशृणोत् ।
त्रिषष्टियोजनान्यद्य यास्यामीत्याह हस्तिनी ।
इत्युवाच स चोद्दाममदविस्खलिताक्षरम् । II. 5.15-18.

2. महामात्रोत्तरायुधीयाधिष्ठितः प्रत्युद्गतः स कृतकहस्ती । *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, T. S. S.* 16, p. 11. वत्सराजग्रहणार्थं गतं शालङ्कायनं प्रति गता मे बुद्धिः । किन्तु खलु अद्यापि वृत्तान्तं न प्रेषयति स ब्राह्मणः । *Ibid.* p. 27.

3. इभो हस्ती । तमर्हतीति इभ्यः, ईश्वरो हस्त्यारोहो वा, I. 10. *1.*

(=elephant-rider) and Bhaṭṭa renders 'hastyāroha' as "the mahāmātra who is acquainted with the science of elephants.[1]" The phrase 'bramaṇibha' (plural) occurring in Rock Edict V and its Pali eqvivalent 'bramaṇibbha' in the *Mahānārada-kassapa Jātaka* are interpreted by scholars as "Brāhmans and ibhyas", the latter expression as "gahapatis" as rendered by the commentary on the Jataka and 'gahapatis' equated with "gṛhapatis" (householders). The term 'gahapati' occurs in a large number of early Brāhmī inscriptions before the name of the donors; it is not known why they call themselves householders[2]. As however, 'ibhya'[3] is a derivative of 'ibha' (elephant), and gives the sense "one who deserves an elephant" and "an elephant-rider" (hastyāroha), the Sanskrit equivalent of 'gahapati' could more preperly be 'gajapati' which is a title held by ancient kings in the south and the expression 'bramanibha' in the Rock Edict rendered as "Brahman-mahāmātras."

In a memorial verse attributed to Rājaśekhara in the anthology *Sūktimuktāvali,* the poet Meṇṭha is extolled for his dexterity in 'vakrokti' with an implied reference to his being an elephant driver[4]. According to Hemacandra, meṇṭha means an elephant driver (hastipaka) and Bhaṭṭa renders 'hastipaka' II. 32, into meṇṭ(h)aka[5]. Again, anthologies ascribe identical stanzas to the poet Meṇṭha and Hastipaka and call him Bhartṛ-Meṇṭha and Meṇṭha-Rāja; the honorific prefix and suffix to the name show that Meṇṭha was a dignitary connected with the Department of Elephants in a state.

The Tamil poem *Periyapurāṇam* describes the canonized Śaiva saint Śiruttoṇḍanāyanār as a 'māmāttira' (mahāmātra) general of the elephant force under a Pallava king and as

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1. हस्त्यारोहकः शास्त्रज्ञमहामात्रः । Ms. p. 469.

2. *See*, 'A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the Earliest Times', *Epi. Ind.* X. 1912.

3. इभमर्हतीति इभ्यः । 'दण्डादिभ्यो यत्' (V. 1. 66.) *Amara* commentary. III. 1. 10, *TSS.* 52. p. 5.

4. वक्रोक्त्या मेण्ठराजस्य वहन्त्या सृणिरूपताम् ।
आविद्धा इव धून्वन्ति मूर्धानं कविकुञ्जराः ॥

5. हस्तिपको मेण्टकः . . . मर्मादौ घातः ताडनं मेण्टकादेः । Ms.p. 469.

having taken a leading part in an expedition against Vātāpi (Bādāmi).

Kauṭalya lays down that 'amātyas' who are probationers should undergo the test, 'upadhās' relating to 'dharma,' 'artha' and 'bhaya[1]', but mahāmātras, should take the test 'Kāma-upadhā[2]', "amatory allurement" and those who are successful in the second test should be appointed as officers in the outer and inner apartments of ladies in king's palace[3]. According to the *Jaya.*, 'antarvaṁsikas' in I.12 means "stryadhyakṣas" (officers regarding women in king's palace[4]); they are also important functionaries among the 'tīrthas' referred to as mahāmātras, as is evident from the fact that they attend to the daily routine of the king when the latter is in his death-bed V. 6.

The *Amara* commentary of Sarvānanda explains 'antarvaṁśika' as "bṛhadupakārika and other officers in charge of king's harem[5]". Among the attendants on elephants in II. 32, the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* has 'aupakārika' in the sense "supervisor or one who executes a commission, according to others[6]". The term 'anīkasthāḥ' (plural, lit. army or battle-holders) is rendered as "Those who are learned in the science of elephants[7]" in II.1 and "cheif attendants on the animals[8]"

1. ०एकैकम् अमात्यम् उपजापयेत् ..... प्रत्याख्याने शुचिरिति धर्मोपधा । and so on. I. 10.

2. महामात्रम् एकैकम् उपजपेत् .... प्रत्याख्याने शुचिरिति कामोपधा । *Ibid.*

3. कामोपधाशुद्धान् बाह्याभ्यन्तरविहाररक्षासु । विहरन्त्यस्मिन् इति विहारः । तत्र बाह्यो विहार उपवनं बाह्यस्त्रीणां भोग्यानां वारविलासिनीनाम् । आभ्यन्तरो विहारो राज्ञीनाम् । तद्रक्षासु स्थापयेत् । The *Jaya* pp. 33-4.

4. राजकुलस्यान्तर्नियुक्ता अन्तर्वंशिकाः स्त्र्यध्यक्षा अन्तःपुरिकाः । *Ibid.* p. 37.

5. बृहदुपकारिकादौ अन्तःपुराधिकृते जनेऽन्तर्वंशिकः । II. 8. 8. T.S.S. 51, p. 57. Cf. 'Bṛhad-uparika' *Epi. Ind.* XII. p. 6.

6. औपकारिकः प्रत्यवेक्षिता । प्रेषणकारीत्यन्ये । The *Cāṇ. ṭī.* p. 204.

7. अनीकस्थाः हस्तिलक्षणविदः । p. 80.

8. चिकित्सकानीकस्थयोः औपस्थायिकवर्गे पठितत्वात् ...तयोर्ग्रहः प्राधान्यज्ञापनार्थम् । p. 204.

in II. 32 by the *Cāṇ. ṭī.*, "a group of body-guards of the king" by *Amara.* II. 8.6. and "expert trainers of elephants" by Śāśvata. They are paid 2000 paṇas as salaries V. 3 and endowed with lands without the right of sale or mortgage, when they settle in an unoccupied territory II.1.

Again, mahāmātras were provided with a separate Court where they examined disputes of mahāmātras and dispensed jūstice II.5. A Nāgarika mahāmātra is mentioned in IV. 6, in the sense "the City-Superintendent of the mahāmātra order" and he is described as a terror to a criminal under suspicion. This phrase is explained by scholars to mean "a nāgarika and a mahāmātra" a dvandva compound, but it is better to take it as karmadhāraya like 'stryadhyakṣa-mahāmātra' in Rock Edict XII.

From the foregoing references drawn from different epochs, all we can deduce seems to be as follows : Since elephants played a vital role in battle in ancient times, it was essential for the king to have monopoly of elephants and to maintain a strong elephant force, under generals of proved loyalty and devotion. Accordingly, there arose a closer relationship between the officials and the host of attendants attached to the palace, having a common bond of security with their sovereign, on the one hand and the elephant division of the army on the other. The palace officials discharging multifarious duties of progressive responsibility and trust developed, in course of time into an official nobility around the king, known as mahāmātras. During the time of Kauṭalya it appears they were a power causing concern to the king and harsh measures were prescribed to suppress the seditious *dūṣyas* among them summarily.

The *Cāṇ. ṭī.* seems to understand there were more than one 'śamāhartṛ' "Collector of Revenue[1]" and all the adhyakṣas mentioned in the first eighteen chapters of the Adhyakṣapracāra

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1. i रत्नं मुक्तामण्यादि, सारं चन्दनादि, फल्गु चार्मणादि, कुप्यं शाकादि। एतत् पुराणं नवं वा समाहर्तृभ्यः प्रतिगृह्णीयात् । p. 103.

ii. समाहर्तृसमुदयप्रस्थापनम् . . . सम्यङ्न्यायाद् आहरन्तीति समाहर्तारः । तेन अध्यक्षेण समुदयस्य कोशादेरवेक्ष्यमाणतया शरीराद्यपेक्षणात् प्रकर्षेण स्थापनम् उपार्जनम् । p. 104.

including 'samāhartṛs' are subordinates of 'sannidhātṛ' "Minister in custody of all state revenue[1]". The *Jaya*-and the *Cāṇ. ṭī.* render 'sannidhātṛ' as "bhāṇḍāgārika[2]" (Keeper of the royal store) and the *Jaya* (p. 37) translates 'samāhartṛ' as "āya-samāharaṇe niyukto *deśavyavahārin*" (an officer charged with the collection of the reveuue of a province). In the Republic mentioned in Buddhist literature, 'Bhāṇḍāgārika' figures as the fourth highest administrative officer, while the term 'deśavyavahārin' of the commentary seems to correspond with 'deśādhikṛta' (Prakrit, deśādhikata) which occurs in the sense of "a Governor of a province," in the inscription of Pallava Śivaskandavarman[3]. The fact that the 'sāmāhartṛ' is stated to be an administrative officer of a janapada shows there were more than one janapada in the Kauṭaliyan set-up of state administration.

In the list of 'tīrthas' in I. 12 and elsewhere in the *Arthaśāstra*, samāhartṛ is mentioned before his superior sannidhātṛ, because, it seems, the former stands for 'yoga' "acquiring the unacquired" which is the pre-requisite of 'kṣema' "securing what has been acquired" which is represented by sannnidhātṛ. He is also paid equal salaries with sannidhātṛ probably because, as Kauṭalya says the former has more scope of growing corrupt and dangerous than the latter VIII. 4.

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1. i. अध्यक्षाणां प्रचारः प्रस्तुतः सन्निधातृसमाहर्तृपूर्वकः। तत्पूर्वकाश्च सर्वाध्यक्षाः . . . . तयोरपि समाहर्तुः संप्रेष्यभूतत्वात् प्राधान्यात् सन्निधातृकर्तृकनिचयकर्मोच्यते । p. 101.

ii. तुलामानपौतवम्। II. 19. . . . . सन्निधातुः प्रचारो व्याख्यातः, समाहर्तुरुच्यते । समाहर्ता दुर्गाध्यक्ष इत्युक्तम् । तत्र दुर्गे पौतवं पठितमिति । p. 184.

2. i. सन्निधाता सम्यङ् निधाता स्थापयिता भाण्डागारिकः । The *Jaya* p. 37.

ii. समाहर्त्रा सर्वतो जनपदात् समाहृतानि द्रव्याणि सम्यङ् निधत्ते स्थापयतीति भाण्डागारिकः । The *Cāṇ. ṭī.* p. 101.

3. *Epi. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 5.

# SELECT OPINIONS

**Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.**—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

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**Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.**—........I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions......